

WAKAYA GRAMMAR

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- 1. THE SENTENCE.
- 1.1 Verbless clauses.
- 1.2 Intransitive Clauses.
- 1.3 Transitive Clauses.
- 1.4 Compound Sentences.
- 1.5 Complex sentences.
- 2. NOUN MORPHOLOGY.
- 2.1 Noun classes.
- 2.1.1 Noun classes (material from Appendix 9).
- 2.1.2 Noun declensions (material from Appendix 9).
- 2.2 Noun stem formation.
- 2.2.1 Reduplication.
- 2.2.2 Compounding of stems.
- 2.2.3 Noun stem formatives.
- 2.2.4 Propriative.
- 2.2.4.1 Propriative (second form) (material from Appendix 9).
- 2.2.5 Kin-propriative.
- 2.2.5.1 Kin-propriative (material from Appendix 9).
- 2.2.6 Privative.
- 2.2.7 Genitive nominaliser.
- 2.2.8 Dual.
- 2.2.9 Plural.
- 2.2.10 Plural (second form).
- 2.2.10.1 Human 'all' (material from Appendix 9).
- 2.2.11 Alternative.
- 2.2.12 Associative.
- 2.2.13 After, out of.
- 2.2.14 Locational.
- 2.2.15 Agent.
- 2.2.16 Gerund.

- 2.2.17 'Looking for'.
- 2.2.18 'Owner'.
- 2.2.19 'Giver'.
- 2.2.20 'Too much'.
- 2.2.21 'Not very'.
- 2.2.22 'All'.
- 2.2.23 Other noun stem formatives.
- 2.3 Noun inflection.
 - 2.3.1 Nominative.
 - 2.3.2 Accusative clitic.
 - 2.3.3 Operative/Locative.
 - 2.3.4. Genitive.
 - 2.3.5 Purposive.
 - 2.3.6 Causal.
 - 2.3.7 Allative.
 - 2.3.8 Ablative.
 - 2.3.9 Comitative (material from Appendix 9).
- 2.4 Miscellaneous problems of noun morphology.
- 3. PRONOUNS.
 - 3.1 Personal pronouns.
 - 3.1.1.1 Nominative.
 - 3.1.1.2 Causal.
 - 3.1.2 Ergative.
 - 3.1.3 Accusative.
 - 3.1.4 Genitive.
 - 3.1.5 Purposive.
 - 3.1.6 Reflexive/reciprocal.
 - 3.1.7 Locative.
 - 3.1.8 Allative.
 - 3.1.9 Ablative.
 - 3.2 Demonstratives.
 - 3.3 Interrogative.
- 4. VERBS.
 - 4.1 Verb stem formation.

- 4.1.1 Reduplication.
- 4.1.2 Compounding of stems.
- 4.1.3 The prefix /ngult-/.
- 4.1.4 Verb stem formatives.
- 4.2 Verb Inflection.
- 4.2.1 Imperative.
- 4.2.2. Negative imperative.
- 4.2.3 Optative.
- 4.2.4 Potential.
- 4.2.5 Past Tense.
- 4.2.6 Imperfect.
- 4.2.7 Gerund.
- 4.2.8 Present tense.
- 4.2.9 Andative present.
- 4.2.10 Future.
- 4.2.11 Irrealis.
- 4.2.12 Purposive.
- 4.2.13 Simultaneous action and consequence.
- 4.2.14 Privative.
- 4.2.15 'After'.
- 4.2.16 Agent.
- 4.2.17 Complement.
- 4.2.18 Gerund + /-rl/(material from Appendix 9).
- 4.2.19 Gerund + /r-/ + /-rl/(material from Appendix 9).
- 4.2.20 Gerund + /-mirr/ + /-rl/(material from Appendix 9).
- 4.2.21 Agent (+ causal) (material from Appendix 9).
- 4.3 Directional suffix.
- 4.4 Verb conjugations.
- 4.5 Miscellaneous problems.
- 5. ADVERBS.
- 5.1 Adverbs of time.
- 5.2 Adverbs of place.
- 5.3 Directional adverbs.
- 5.4 Adverbs of manner.

- 5.5 The Potential adverb.
- 5.6 Negative adverbs.
- 5.7 The interrogative adverb.
- 6. PARTICLES.
- 6.1 Conjunctions.
- 6.2 Clause substitutes.
- 6.3 Emphatic particles.
- 7. OTHER BOUND MORPHEMES.
- 7.1 Ligatives.
- 7.2 Emphatics.
- 7.3 Other bound morphemes.
- 8. WORD ORDER IN EASTERN WAKAYA.

NOTE: The following chapters on Wakaya Grammar are basically a grammar of the Western Dialect of Wakaya, with discussion of the Eastern Dialect where it differs and with some examples taken from the Eastern Dialect (more in some sections than in others) and marked (E). An exception is the last chapter, on Word Order, which is based on Eastern Wakaya texts. It is assumed that the Eastern Dialect is phonemically the same as the Western; this may not be correct.

Informants are: Western Dialect: Mr Willy Clegg, better known as Avon Willy, now living at Brunette Downs, N.T. Eastern Dialect: Mr Didgeroo Jack (or more correctly Djudjuru Jack) and Mrs Mabel Karkadoo (pronounced [ka:g di]. Both now live at Dajarra, Qld, and are native speakers of Bularnu. Addendum: I have now learned that Didgeroo Jack died late in 1973. His death is greatly regretted for personal as well as linguistic reasons. [Breen: 2].

1. THE SENTENCE.

Definitions of the syntactic units will be taken for granted.

Two important grammatical features of Wakaya are that: (1) It is a suffixing language, in which all case forms of nouns and all tense, aspect and mood forms of verbs are marked by suffixes, and all stem-forming affixes are suffixed to the form they modify. There is one marginal exception; the Semblative ('like') construction is formed with a preposition. (2) Pronouns usually occur as bound forms and demonstratives frequently occur as bound forms or clitics. I differentiate between clitics, which can occur either free or affixed to another word, and bound forms, which occur only as affixes, but are allomorphs of morphemes which also have free forms. The bound form is commonly a truncated version of the free form, which may be added to any free or combined form in the clause in which they occur. This is less common in Eastern Wakaya.

There seems to be a preferred basic word order Subject-Verb- Object, but a rule that a noun precedes a pronoun or demonstrative [Breen: 3] alters this order in the majority of cases. This paragraph is not based on a systematic study of word order. Where it contradicts any statement in the final chapter, the latter is probably correct (although there may be a difference between the dialects and both statements may be correct). The most common order in intransitive clauses is Verb-Subject, but this occurs mainly in clauses which consist only of a verb and bound subject pronoun. In other cases the order is Subject-Verb, the clause comprising most commonly Noun Subject and Verb, or a third constituent (e.g. negative, dative noun, adverb) with bound pronoun followed by the verb. Other arrangements are acceptable, however. In transitive clauses most commonly either the subject or the object is a pronoun, and the noun, if any, tends to take first place with the bound pronoun attached. Alternatively, a fourth constituent may take first place and have the pronoun attached. If both subject and object are pronouns they may both be attached to a verb or other constituent, which takes first place. In any sentence a question word or negative tends to take first place.

As stated above, arrangements other than the preferred ones listed above are [Breen: 4] acceptable, as the following two pairs of examples illustrate:

1. /urremanjarninting/
look.for-impf-I-you-purp
'I've been looking for you.'.

2. /ipengarn urremanjiy/
you(du)-purp-I look.for-impf
'I've been looking for you two.'.

In the following pair, the informant gave the first form, and then repeated it with the second order.

3. /urinhathurl wiitpu kanyeni pulu lengenji/
young.brother-op egg ? that get-impf
'My young brother was getting some eggs.'.

4. /wiitpu kanyel lengenji urinhathurl/

Comparison of examples 5 and 6 suggests that this freedom of arrangement extends also to bound pronouns:

5. /nhengalimpanh marniy/
what-purp-you-me hit-past
'Why did you hit me?'.

6. /nginaparlanhimp ngunterl/
maybe-me-you give-fut "You might be give me it now."
However, this point requires checking. [Breen: 5].

1.1 Verbless clauses.

A verbless clause may perform any one of a number of functions: (1) Equational clauses (or, of course, equational sentences), e.g.

7. /innginyupulu/

good.hunter-that

'That fellow's a good hunter.'

(2) Descriptive clauses, e.g.

8. /kirriiwulemuwel ngupungupawel/

woman-pl-this-pl bad-pl

'Those women are no good.'

(3) Possessive clause, e.g.

9. /unparripiy yawilpapiyap/

house-that they(du)-gen-that-du-gen

'That house belongs to them (two).'

(4) Purposive clause, e.g.

10. /wenngiipiy muunki, ilinjiriy, kuwenthariy/

woman-that good(fem), food-purp, cook-nom-purp

'That woman's a good cook.' (nom = nominaliser).

(5) Locative clause, e.g.

11. /winthiik narnt/

where-loc elder.sister

'Where's your sister?'

The verbless clause consists of two units related in some way to one another, either simply by their juxtaposition (and the lack of disagreement between them) as in 7 and 8, or by a case marker attached to one or more constituents of a unit) as in 9, 10 and 11), or by a preposition (as in 16). A unit may comprise a phrase (which may [Breen: 5] consist of only one word) or may be part of a compound form, e.g. a bound form pronoun or the word to which such a pronoun is

attached. The units need not agree explicitly (e.g. in number or gender) but must not disagree; thus as an alternative to 8:

12. /kirriiwulemuwel ngupungupi/
woman-pl-this-pl bad (fem).
would be acceptable, but.

13. /*kirriiwulemuwel ngupungupawiy/
bad-du.
would not.

One of the two units may be omitted if the context supplies the necessary information, e.g.

14. /meket ngunarnu/
'He sleeps all day.' always sleep-agent.
The two units may form a single word, as in 7 or.

15. /winthingamerri/
'Who's that fellow?' who-this.

One or both units may comprise more than one word (which does not necessarily mean two or more; a unit may comprise one word and a bound form forming part of another word, for example.) More than two is rare.

16. /wera inta, il ngetha/
dog your, like my
'Your dog's just like mine.'.

[Breen: 7].

17. /thithathi miinngi, japukultampi ki'lyalt/
red eye, little(fem)-that(fem) meat(fem)
'That little bird's got red eyes.'.

A verbless clause may include, as a unit or part of a unit, a nominalised verb stem with or without further affixation, as in 10, 14 and 18.

18. /thukultiimp yurungku miikementhariy/
boomerang-you able make-nom-purp
'Do you know how to make a boomerang?'.

Some other examples of verbless sentences follow.

19. /nginaparlmuunku/
maybe-be good "He might be all right."

20. /yuupulu merremanju thepelek/
he-that plain.goanna grass-loc
'There's the goanna in the grass!'.

21. /kal ngalii kijiiwi, nguninj yukunngu/
not we(du,ex) two, I one
'It wasn't the two of us, it was just me!'.

1.2 Intransitive Clauses.

An intransitive clause consists basically of a subject and a verb, the subject being normally omitted if the verb is in the imperative mood and optionally omitted in other cases if the context makes this practicable. The subject may comprise more than one word. The clause often consists of a single word, e.g. an imperative verb, a verb with bound pronoun subject, a verb with bound pronoun subject and bound pronoun indirect object or a verb with clitic demonstrative subject.

22. /inanthirr!/
'Get up!'.

23. /pethetiyathap/

'I'm scratching myself.' scratch-pres-I-refl.

24. /penparrijingimp/

'You've been hiding.' hide-impf-now-you.

25. /lilarlarnperiy/

'I'm going to call out to him.' call-fut-I-that-purp.

26. /kekeleketiyarnupung/

'I'm worried about him.' worry-pres-I-he-purp.

The following examples illustrate longer intransitive sentences.

27. /japukult inpetiy, yukarr/

small(fem) fall-pres, water

'It's raining lightly.'

[Breen: 9].

28. /ngurungkarn penkerl kijiiwiw ngunngawiy/

camping.out-I go-fut two day-du

'I'll camp out for two days.'

The absence of case affixation from the time phrase needs to be checked.

29. /ngungkuparlarn jikuwirretiy/

snake-caus-I afraid-pres

'I'm afraid of the snake.'

30. /ngultethanpart upukiparl, putepa/

come.back-hither fire-caus, child-emph

'Come away from the fire, kid!'

31. /ngarrukertiy penkarr ilekarn/
man-this.way go-along-pres creek-abl
'A man is coming up from the creek.'

32. /ngunerlapel ilekik unmerrik, ngelimintingarrek/
lie-fut-we(pl,in) creek-loc side-loc, south.side-loc
'We'll camp on the south side of the creek.'

33. /winthirrarnemuwiyy penkernand yawul puluwiyy/
where-abl-this-du go-past-hither they(du) that-du
'Where do those two come from?'

34. /nhengalipiy kerewa keketiy/
what-purp-that child cry-pres
'What's that child crying for?'

35. /kerewa uriireg irrketiy/
child tree-loc climb-pres
'The kids are climbing the tree.'

36. /nginaparl yukarr inperl, ilapung/
maybe water fall-fut, rel-we(pl,in)-purp
'It might rain for us soon.' (for rel. see. 1.5).[Breen: 10].

37. /yukariyarn penkerl/
water-purp-I go-fut
'I'm going to go and get some water.'

38. /ngalii pukarri; penkenyintalii, kilyalewerrawiy/
we(du,ex) old.woman; go-fut-hither-we(du,ex) meat-prop-du /untemarnewerrawiy/
honey-prop-du
'My wife and I, we'll come back with meat and sugarbag.' (Prop = Proprietary).

The above examples illustrate the various arrangements and constituents of intransitive sentences. Three sentences have a noun subject sentence-initial (27, 31, 35) while in 34 and 36 the noun subject is preceded by a question word and a potential adverb, respectively. The verb occurs initially in the imperative sentence 30 and also in 32 and 38; possibly, in the last two cases, because the other phrase which could have taken this position is rather long. Peripheral phrases, with bound subject pronoun attached, occur first in 28, 29 and 37. Example 35 is unusual in that a peripheral phrase occurs between the subject and the verb; normally the nucleus of a clause is not interrupted by such a constituent.

The subjects are generally single words or bound morphemes, but longer phrases may occur (example 33) as well as discontinuous phrases interrupted by pauses (examples 27 and 28) - these may be better regarded as comprising a subject phrase and separate phrases in apposition with it. [Breen: 11].

1.3 Transitive Clauses.

A transitive clause consists basically of a subject (omitted when the verb is imperative) object and verb. This may be included in one, two, three or more words. As with intransitive clauses, other elements such as negatives, adverbs and nouns inflected for location, purpose or other cases, may be included.

39. /layipulu wera/

'Hit the dog!' hit-imper-that dog.

40. /lanhipulu/

'Don't hit it!' hit-neg.imper-that.

41. /wethiyanhepulu/

'He might bite me.' bite-pot-me-that.

42. /nguntartanh kijiiwi/

"Give me two quid." give-hither-me two.

43. /werarlanh wethii/

'The dog might bite me.' dog-op-me bite-pot.

44. /marlarn inkapu, kenanthi, jikiiku, pujikatu,/
kill-fut-I kangaroo, emu(fem), plain.turkey, cat /merremanju wiluwilka/
plain.goanna river.goanna
'I'll kill kangaroo, etc.'.

45. /nginaparlalii lanngemerl maanu nyilenyilu maybe-we(du,ex) find-fut fat
echidna
'We might find a fat porcupine.'.

46. /inanthemerniyarn, miikerl/
wake(tr)-past-I, in.vain
'I woke him up but he wouldn't get up.'.

[Breen: 12].

47. /winthingarl inkapu marniy/
who-op kangaroo kill-past
'Who killed the kangaroo?'.

48. /nhengaliimpanh marniy/
what-purp-you-me hit-past
'Why did you hit me?'.

49. /purnngikanh larniy[?] kerewarl/
stone-op-me hit-past child-op
'The kid hit me with a stone.'.

The above examples illustrate the tendency for subject or object pronoun, or both (examples 41, 48) to be attached to the first word of the sentence, whether this be the verb (examples, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46), a subject noun (43, 47), a question word (47, 48) or another word (45, 49). Compare 44 with 32 and 38; the verb takes final place because of the length of the object phrase. Normally, if there is more than one word in the clause and the verb is not imperative it prefers second position.

Note that, as in many other Australian languages, the verb 'to give' takes two direct objects (the gift and the recipient).

The only examples given above of noun phrases with more than one word are both of object phrases; however, the subject phrase may also be expanded. Verb phrases may, of course, be expanded by means of adverbs or inflected nouns (as in 46 and 49) but phrases with two verbs also occur occasionally, and involve one of a small group of verbs such as

/mulum/

'to do well'

and /yukunngam/

'to do once'. [Breen: 12].

1.4 Compound Sentences.

Two or more clauses may be combined, without subordination of any clause, to form a compound sentence. This is commonly done by means of simple juxtaposition of clauses. Less often the conjunction /pa/ is used; this may also link items within a phrase, as in:

50. /kijiiwi pa kijiiwi/

'four' two and two.

51. (E)/perangka pa thithathu/

white and red.

Examples 52 to 59 show compounding by juxtaposition.

52. /tungarr, jap mar/

'Don't talk, shut up!' be.quiet, don't talk.

53. /kalarn yuwerrerl, penketiyarn/

not-I sit-fut, go-pres-I

'I'm not going to sit down, I'm going.'.

54. /penkernantarn, werarlanh marniy, ngethemerlt/

go-past-hither-I, dog-op-me hit-past, calf

'As soon as I came here the dog bit my leg.'

55. /penkernantarn, yuka inpernant/

go-past-hither-I, water fall-past-hither

'When I came here it was raining.'

56. /therremanhiy yuwerr/

play-neg.imper sit "You don't play, sit down quiet!"

57. /ngungkurlin mayi impa yuwerr/

snake-op-you(acc) hit-pot you-emph sit

'(Don't go there), a snake might bite you, stay where you are.'

[Breen: 14].

58. /kuluwanh nguntart, tiimerlarn upuki/

axe-me give-hither, chop-fut-I fire(wood)

'Give me an axe so I can chop some wood.'

59. /kukumu ngelarniyarn imiita, penkerniyarn,/

fish put-past-I here-alla, go-past-I, /ngultethanpangarn, ingenjingarn
merltii/ return-nom-lig-I, see-impf-lig-I not-emph

'I put a fish down there and went away. When I came back I didn't see it (i.e. it was gone).'

(Note: in /ngultethanpangarn/, the nominalized form of the verb is functioning as a past tense form. Lig = ligative; this links certain verbal affixes to bound pronouns.).

Note that in 56 and 57 the two clauses were spoken within a single contour, i.e. with no pause or other audible separation. Note also the variation in word-order between example 58 and the following: 60. /nguntartanh wilepi, nguninj wilepi marl/

give-hither-me string, I string make-fut

'Give me some string so I can make a net.'

Examples 61 to 65 illustrate the use of /pa/ to link clauses. There may or may not also be a pause.

61. /penkerniy piint, pa ingerniyanh ngulteth/
go-past far, and look-past-me back
'He walked past and looked back at me.'

[Breen: 15].

62. /penkerniipulu, pa ingerniyalinyangulaparn ngulteth/
go-past-that, and look-past-us(du,in)-there-abl back
'He walked past and looked back at us (from over there).'

63. /uriikik yuwerretiy pa ingentiy ngininy parnithik/
shade-loc sit-pres and look-pres direction way-other-loc
'He's sitting down [JHS:in the shade] looking the other way.'

64. /kurra pa penkarta, upukikin walewii/
come.on and go-hither-emph, fire-op-you(acc) burn-pot
'Come away from the fire, you might get burnt.'

65. /ngarru penkernant, pa kulawerrarn ngultethanpetiy/
ma[?] go-past-hither, and middle-abl return-pres
'He came half way here, but he's going back.'

An infrequently used conjunction is /puun/ 'too'.

66. /maretiinting yal puluwel; ngathing puun maretiy/
talk-pres-you-purp they(pl) that-pl me-purp too talk-pres

'They're talking about you, and me too.'

There is a single example of what may be a conjunction translatable as 'but'.

67. /merltarn kutinyuwi tha ukuthurl/
no-I unable(-it-purp?) but father-op
'I can't make one but my father can.'

Another rare (in the corpus) conjunction is /yantekij/ 'again'. Example 68 shows its use to link clauses in text, while 69 shows that it can be used to link a sentence to an utterance remotely preceding it (or even to [Breen: 16] facts known in other ways than from an earlier utterance).

68. /yarremenarr ngetha pujuka. Nguninja nguli'ntinga/
horse-fem my run-nom. I-emph behind.
/yarremenawerrekij penkangarnu, urremanthingarn,/
horse-prop-emph go-nom-lig-I-(he?), look.for-impf-then-I,.
/lengenthingarninyu ngultethamenthingarn,/
get-impf-then-I-(he?) back-caus-impf-then-I.
/ngultethamernantarn, uriirrerntarn interniy/
back-caus-past-hither-I, tree-alla-I tie-past.
/yantekiju pujuka. Nguninj nguli'nterniy kij;/
again (-he?) run-nom. I go.after-past emph (?).
/kijiyamerniy, lengentharnu, inyekarni,/
two-caus-past, get-impf-I-(he?) ?
Probably /lengentharnuwinyekarni/
get-impf-I-him-? The horse apparently had a sex change after the first sentence.
/ngultethamernantarn, yatirtingarn ngelarniy/
back-caus-past-hither-I, yard-alla-then-I put-past.

'My mare ran away. I went after her with another horse, looked for her, got her and brought her back, and tied her to a tree. She ran away again. I went after her a second time, got her, brought her back, and put her in the yard.'

69. /yantekijanh marniy/

'He bit me again.' again-me bite-past.[Breen: 17]

Certain verb forms, while occurring in simple sentences, are especially likely to be found in subordinate or coordinate clauses. These include the purposive, marked by the suffix /-riy/ added to a nominalised stem, the past purposive /-arliy/ which has the meaning 'would have' or 'wanted to' and the potential 'might', marked by /-ii/. In the case of a verb in the purposive form with an object, one can distinguish between a subordinate clause and a coordinate clause because the object is in the purposive case in the former and in the nominative or accusative in the latter. (Examples 70 and 71). This distinction cannot be made for intransitive verbs (and it is not clear that it can be made when the object of a transitive verb is a pronoun; there are examples in the corpus of a purposive verb with a purposive pronoun object in a subordinate clause.

70. /wiinemerniyarn miiperiy pethariy/

tell-past-I hole-purp dig-purp

'I told him to dig the hole.'

71. (E)/kilimp penkernant ngathekert, nguninj in/

not-you go-past-hither me-alla, I you(acc) /nguntariy kilyal/ give-purp meat

'If you had come to my camp I would have given you some meat.'

[Breen: 18] In the case of the past purposive there is no such explicit distinction; however, some clauses combining this verb form must be regarded as subordinate (example 72) while most could just as well be called coordinate (example 73).

72. /kilemantharn inparliy/

think.wrongly-impf-I fall-past.purp

'I thought I was going to fall.'

73. /wetharliyarn, werarlanh penterniy/

eat-past.purp-I, dog-op-me take-past [4]

'Just when I was going to eat it the dog took it.'

It appears that /pent/ 'to take', like /ngunt/ 'to give', takes two direct objects. With the potential it appears to be possible to regard all occurrences in a two-clause sentence as coordinate.

74. (E)/kurra penkariyal yuwijerlaliny walewii/
come.on go-purp-we(du,in) sun-op-us(du,in) burn-pot
"Come on, we'd better go now, before it gets too hot, the sun'll kill us."

75. /ingelingintap unpernuparl, ilinpulu wethii/
watch-you-refl spider-caus, rel-you(acc)-that bite-pot
'Watch out for that spider, it could bite you.'

[Breen: 19].

76. /kerewul penkirr nalteparl, ilirriny mayi,/
child-pl go-you(pl) humpy-caus, rel-you(pl)-acc hit-pot, /yuurl ngarrerl/ he-
op man-op
'Come away from that humpy you kids, the man might hit you.'

Other examples of the potential given above are 57 and 64. Other examples of complex sentences using the purposive or past purposive are now given.

77. (E)/Mangarlanga penkernant inting, nginaparl wakirrijariy/
white.man go-past-hither you-purp, maybe work-purp
"A man came up here looking for you; he might want to give you a job."

78. /kilyipilemerlan, kujerrariy/
tickle-fut-I, laugh-purp
'I'll tickle him and make him laugh.'

79. /iningkijiyarn puleriy pukarreriy injilt larrejariy/
listen-impf-I that-purp old.man-purp word hear-purp

'I've been listening to the old man telling a story.'

80. (E)/tungarrerniy puluparl, kilanh larrejariy/

keep.quiet-past that-caus, not-me hear-purp

"I shut up from him. I don't want him to listen to me." [Breen: 20].

81. /mararliimp ngathekert, nguninjin nguntarliy mani,/

speak-past.purp-you me-alla, I-you(acc) give-past.purp money /impathing
lengarliy ngenngarnt/ you-me-Dat get-past.purp food

'You should have told me (you were going to town). I would have given you
some money and you could have got some tucker for me.'

82. /penkarrekanyipulu, ngungku jina pulu/

go.along-pres-away-(?)-that, snake foot that /kinyarliy/ step.on-past.purp

'He was going along and he nearly trod on a snake.' [Breen: 21].

1.5 Complex sentences.

As we have just seen, the line between complex and compound sentences cannot
always be drawn in Wakaya. There are three types of complex sentence. Some
further examples of the type using the purposive verb with object in the
purposive case will first be given (cf. GB:17).

83. /penkangarn kerliil lengenthariy ngethary kerewariy/

go-nom-lig west get-purp my-purp child-purp

'I went out west to get my kid.'

84. /nginaparlarn penkerl ngurungku, manthariy inkaperiy/

maybe-I go-fut camping.out, kill-purp kangaroo-purp

'I might go out hunting for kangaroos.'

85. /manthariimp thangarrerniy puleriy/

hit-purp-you want-past that-purp

'Did you mean to hit him?'

86.(E)/menhalarn tiimenthariy, ngennganteriy ngimenthariy/

fire(wood)-I chop-purp, food-purp cook-purp.

In the Eastern dialect the purposive is normally used instead of the future (-rl) to mark future tense. Thus in the sentence the first verb denotes future action and has a nominative object, and the second denotes purpose and has a purposive object.

"I got to cut some wood to cook some tucker."

Note the word order in example 85 the main clause is embedded in the subordinate clause. This is most unusual. The other examples illustrate the normal order with the subordinate clause following the main clause.[Breen: 22] Simultaneous action and immediate consequence are expressed by a nominalised form of the verb marked with the operative/locative case suffix if the subjects of the two actions are the same, or the allative case if they are different. If a nominalised transitive verb is marked allative its object is also in the allative case. The case suffixes are linked to the nominalised verb by the ligative /-ng/.

Unfortunately, there are no examples in the corpus of an object of a nominalised transitive verb with operative/locative case-marking, nor are there any clear examples of a nominalised verb with the non-masculine form of the operative/locative case.

In a few cases the case marker has been omitted from the nominalised verb (in one such case - example 92 - there is an object in the allative case).

87. /wirriwirriyarn penkangerl marniy yungkumet/

along-I go-nom-lig-op kill-past bluetongue.lizard

'I killed a lizard while I was going along.'

88. (E)/nguparrerniingarn pujukangerl/

bad-become-past-now-I run-nom-lig-op

'I'm tired from running.'

89. (E)/jirrewenthariyarn, nguninthangert/

spear-purp-I, sleep-nom-lig-alla

'I'll spear him while he's asleep.'

[Breen: 23].

90. (example recorded from both dialects) /ingentiyarn kerewul
therremanthangert/

see-pres-I child-pl play-nom-lig-alla

'I'm watching the kids playing.'

91. /wayipalarrarn ingenji kilyalirt nenkerrangert/

white.man-I see-impf meat-alla cut-nom-lig-alla

'I've been watching the white fellow cutting up a bullock.'

92. /ingerniyarn miipert pethangi/

see-past-I hole-alla dig-nom-lig-(?)

'I saw him digging a hole.'

93. /irrjartekarn jirrewerniy inkapu penkangerl/

spear-op-I spear-past kangaroo go-nom-lig-op

'I speared a kangaroo while I was walking along.'

There is a little more freedom in the clause order in this type of sentence where the subject of both clauses is the same than in the purposive sentence; it is not uncommon for the subordinate clause to precede the main clause, as in example 87. However, where the subjects are different the main clause always seems to precede the subordinate clause.

There are several examples in the corpus in which a nominalised verb form, as described above, is used as the only verb in a sentence. Its function in these cases is not clear.

94. /penkangirtarn imirt pirijirl/

go-nom-lig-alla-I this-alla long.ago-loc

'I came here a long time ago.'

95. /wiintheta yarremena penkangi/

where horse go-nom-lig-(?)

'Which way did the horses go?'.
[Breen: 24]

A common construction in Wakaya involves the relating/subordinating particle /il/, which is prefixed to a clause or phrase. It is not a free form, but always occurs combined with a bound pronoun, demonstrative, combination of two pronouns or pronoun and demonstrative, or dual formative (and possibly also plural formative). This compound form may form the first word of a clause or phrase, or may stand alone outside the main clause of a sentence. It seems, in some cases, to be used to relate to the main clause some item that was inadvertently omitted from it or was an afterthought; in effect, if not always in intention, it topicalises such items. See examples 97 to 102, especially 97, 99 and 102.

97. /marngwarn nguninj, ilinting/

dream-I sleep-impf, rel-you-purp

'I dreamt about you.' (or, better, perhaps,

'I had a dream; [Breen: 25] it was about you.').

98.(E)/ilalekert, ngultethanpetiy/

rel-us(du,in)-alla, return-pres

'He's coming back (to us).'.
[Breen: 25]

99. /nginaparl yukarr inperl, ilapung/

maybe water fall-fut, rel-us(pl,in)-purp

'It might rain, for us.'. [Breen: 25]

100. /urremarlingapel ilung, muunt/

look.for-fut-now-we(pl,in) rel-he-purp, poor.fellow

'We'll go looking for him now, the poor fellow.'. [Breen: 25]

101. /yukarr jirremerniy imp ilath/

water spill-past you rel-my

'You spilt my water.'

102. /werawerru penkernant, ilethekert/

dog-prop go-past-hither, rel-me-alla

'He came with his dog, to my camp.'

Note that the related phrase may take first position in the sentence (example 98); this also applies to clauses introduced by /il/ (as in examples 107 and 108 below.).

103. (E)/kenkelenga ingentiy, ilu penketiy kuurrij/

policeman see-pres, rel-he go-pres to.here

'I can see the policeman coming.'

This could also be expressed by means of a nominalised verb, as in example 90. Additional examples of clauses introduced by /il/ are now given.[Breen: 26].

104. /ingelingintap unpernaparl, ilinpulu wethii/

watch-you-refl spider-caus, rel-you(acc)-that bite-pot

'Watch out for those spiders, they can bite.'

105. (E)/ngunerniyarn ilu penkerniy/

sleep-past-I rel-he go-past

'As soon as he went I had a sleep.'

106. (E)/nguninj pulu ngunterniy ngenngarnterruwiny, ilimp/

I that give-past food-it-acc /lekerniy puluparl/ take-past that-caus

'I fed the man you took the tucker from.'

107. /ilarn penkerl, ngunterlarni purnngirr/

rel-I go-fut, give-fut-I-(?) stone

'Before I go I'll give you some money.'

108. (E)/ilarn kenanthu utirtemerniy, pertiipu pilinju/

rel-I emu lose(?) -past, big fast

"He was too fast for me, I couldn't catch him."

109. /yuurl pulu, ilu leketiy/

he-op that, rel-he carry-pres

'He did (kill it), the one carrying it.'

Note the verbless main clause in 108, and the main clause with verb omitted in 109. The final three examples show how the /il/ construction and the nominalised verb construction may be used as alternatives in the formation of a complex sentence, or may even be combined, with the object of the verb in the subordinate clause being in the allative case although the verb itself is not nominalised. All [Breen: 27] three sentences mean:

'I saw you hitting your dog.'

110. /ingerniyarnin intart werart manthangert/

see-past-I-you(acc) your-alla dog-alla hit-nom-lig-alla.

111. /ingerniyarnin werart intart, ilimp marniy/

rel-you hit-past.

112. /ingerniyarnin ilimp wera marniy inta/

dog your.

2. NOUN MORPHOLOGY.

2.1 Noun classes.

Western Wakaya nouns can be divided into two gender classes, according to the form of the stem ending. These genders comprise (a) masculine and (b) feminine/neuter, or non-masculine, and the membership of these genders is completely predictable from their designations, with the one known exception that /wiitpu/ 'egg' is masculine. (Possibly also /ngurru/ 'nose').

Non-masculine nouns are most commonly recognised by their stem-final /-i/ (where the corresponding masculine noun, if any, has /u/) or /-r/ (where the masculine noun has 0), but there are other pairs of word endings (although the word may not be divisible into stem and ending) as illustrated by no. 30 to 35 of the pairs listed below. In certain cases a Western form (non-masculine) is paired with an Eastern form; all Eastern nouns have masculine forms, with one or two exceptions.

It appears that the loss of gender from the Eastern dialect is fairly recent; and the method adopted was simply to convert all non-masculine nouns to the corresponding masculine forms. As a result, the Eastern dialect has only a handful of nouns with final /i/, and most if not all of these are clearly recent borrowings. [Breen: 29] The existence in Western Wakaya of a few words in which not /i/ but /wi/ corresponds to Eastern final /u/ seems to contradict the above hypothesis. Examples are /parrkwi/ 'nulla-nulla' and /marngwi/ 'dream'. These may be a relic of a final /u/ in the pre-gender language; when final /i/s and /u/s were regularised into a gender system. The rule was slightly different for words of the form: (CV) C1 a C2 C3 u, where C3 is velar which became: (CV) C1 a C2 C3 wi. Obviously the /w/ would soon be lost when the Eastern dialect replaced the final /i/ by /u/.

Examples:

Type 1:

Masculine or Eastern in /u/

Non-masculine in /i/.

1.

`big' /pertiipu/
/pertiipi/.

2.

`baby' /putepu/
/putepi/.

3.

`husband' /werangu/
'wife' /werangi/.

4.

`son-in-law' /limpirnngu/
'd-in-law' /limpirnngi/.

5.

`bad' /ngupungupu/
/ngupungupi/.

6.

`axe' (E)/kuluwu/(W)/kuluwi/.

7.

`coolamon' (E)/kertiju/(W)/kertiji/.

8.

`hand' (E)/lapu/(W)/lapi/.

9.

`head' (E)/layu/(W)/layi/.

10.

`charcoal' (E)/piteku/(W)/piteki/.

11.

`kangaroo' /inkapu/
/inkapi/.

12.

`stone' (E)/purnngu/(W)/purnngi/.

13.

`red' /thithathu/
/thithathi/.

14.

`plain turkey' /jikiiku/
/jikiiki/
[Breen: 30].

15.

`bloodwood tree' (E)/pelaju/(W)/pelaji/.

16.

`road' (E)/parnu/(W)/parni/

Type 2:

Masculine or Eastern in /0/

Non-masculine /rr/.

17.

`camp' (E)/irrpa/(W)/irrparr/.

18.

`house' (E) /unpa/ (W) /unparr/.

19.

`water' (E) /yuka/ (W) /yukarr/.

20.

`white' /pernangka/
/pernangkarr/.

21.

`old' /perijanga/
/perijangarr/.

22.

`dog' /wera/
'bitch' /werarr/.

23.

`horse' /yarremena/
'mare' /yarremenarr/.

24.

`foot' (E) /jina/ (W) /jinarr/.

25.

`your' /inta/
/intarr/

Type 3:

Masculine or Eastern in /u/

Non-masculine /o/(?/i/) Final consonant of stem is /rr/.

26.

'old man' /pukarru/
'old woman'/pukarr/.

27.

subsection /i'kamarru/
/i'kamarr(i)/.

28.

subsection /jirramerramerru/
/jirramerramerr/.

29.

'arm' (E)/ketarru/(W)/ketarr/

Type 4:

Masculine or Eastern in /V'l/
Non-masculine in /V'lt/.

30.

subsection /kengiil/
/kengelt/.

31.

'word' (E)/injal/(W)/injilt/.

32.

'animal' /kilyal/
/ki'lyalt/.

33.

'fire' (E)/menhal/(W)/menhelt/.

34.

`stomach' (E) /utal/ (W) /uteilt/

[Breen: 31]

Type 5:

Masculine or Eastern in /Vl/

Non-masculine in /Vlt/.

35.

`blood' (E) /piyal/ (W) /piilt/ (Note that [iy] is phonemically /i:/.).

36.

`river red gum' (E) /kuul/ (W) /kuult/.

37.

`milk, breast' (E) /kunyengul/ (W) /kunyengult/.

38.

`liar' /uthul/

/uthelt/

Type 6:

Masculine or Eastern in /u/

Non-masculine in /d/

Final consonant of stem is /l/.

39.

`small' /japukulu/

/japukult/.

40.

`testicles' (E) /puulu/ (W) /puult/.

41.

`throat' (E) /puluwulu/ (W) /puluwult/.

42.

`humpy' (E) /nalu/ (W) /nalt/

Type 7:

Eastern in /u/

Western /wi/

Following a biconsonantal cluster ending in a velar in a two-syllable stem.

43.

`ashes' /nhanngu/

/nhanngwi/.

44.

`dream' /marnggu/

/marngwi/.

45.

`nulla-nulla' /parrku/

/parrkwi/

Type 8:

Eastern /Vd/

Western /err/

or /el/.

46.

`tooth' /kuthit/

/kutherr/.

47.

`grass' /thepat/
/theperr, thepel/
/thepal/.

48.

`skin' /mernkat/
/mernkel/
/mernken(?)/
Miscellaneous.

49.

`ankle' (E) /marntu/ (W) /marnt/.

50.

`wind' (E) /unu/ (W) /unerri/. [Breen: 32] A few noun-stem-forming suffixes have masculine and non-masculine forms; these are Kin-possessive /-ngenthu/ (m), /-ngenthi/ (?) (non-m), Propriative /-werru/ (m), /-werr/ (non-m), Privative /-nhawerru/ (m), /-nhawerr(i)/ (non-m), Alternative ('other') /-ithu/ (m), /-ithi/ (non-m) - all of which are suffixes added to noun stems, and the Agent formative, added to a verb stem, /-arnu/ (m), /-arnt/ (non-m).

The final /-rr/ in type 2 above may be optional; for example, we have in the Western dialect such non-masculine words as /tertepa/ 'back'** and /melempa/ 'liver'. /umpa/ 'snappy gum' seems to be an alternative to /umparr/ and there are other similar examples.

Certain suffixes, when added to a noun stem, neutralise the gender difference, either because a word-initial vowel of the suffix replaces the word-final vowel of the stem, because the final /u/ or /i/ of the stem becomes /e/ before the initial consonant of the suffix [6], or because the final consonant of a . [6] Alternation of stem-final vowel to /e/ before a suffix seems to depend to some extent on some other factor, perhaps phonological, which is not yet known. feminine form is dropped. (The final two reasons become one if we regard the suffixes in question as having an initial /e/ which replaces a final /i/ or /u/ but not /a/; thus purposive /-eriy instead of /-riy/. These suffixes

include, as well as Purposive, ablative, dual, plural and also bound pronouns and some other suffixes. Thus: .[Breen: 33].

51. /inkapu/
'buck kangaroo'.

52. /inkapi/
'doe kangaroo'.

53. /ngarrupulu penkerniy inkaperiy/
man-that go-past kangaroo-purp
'That man went to get a kangaroo (either sex).'

54. /inkaparn jirrewerniy/
kangaroo-I spear-past
'I speared a kangaroo (either sex).'

The distinction is also lost from the root when the noun- stem-forming suffixes listed above [GB:32] are added, but the newly formed stem is marked for gender (not necessarily the same in all cases), e.g.

55. /unpathi/
'the other house' from /unparr/ 'house'. (Gender marker /-rr/ dropped, suffix /-ithi/ added but the initial vowel of the suffix is dropped when added to a stem with final /a/.).

56. /thukulenhawerru/
'got no boomerang' from /thukult/ 'boomerang'. (Here the gender is that of the person who lacks the boomerang.).

The gender distinction is retained before some suffixes, such as genitive /-p/ and causal /-parl/.

57. /pukarrup/

'old man's', /pukarrep/

'old woman's'.

The full details of which suffixes cause neutralisation of the distinction and how, if at all, this varies according to the different types of marking of gender, are not known. [Breen: 159].

2.1 Noun classes (material from Appendix 9).

It will be seen from the table below that, contrary to what was stated above, the two genders are distinguished with all noun inflections except the Ablative, and that even in this case they are distinguished with some masculine or non-masculine forms. By using the ligative /-r-/ it may be possible to make the distinction for all such pairs.

Note that some place names are masculine, others are non-masculine and others are dual. No plural ones have been noted so far. Examples of the three types are: /ilawerru/ 'Alexandria' Locative /ilawerrurl/ /mitipa/

"Connelly's Bore" Locative /mitiparrek/(='Connell's Bore'?) /itithuwi/ 'Wolfram' Locative /itithuwiarl/

[Breen: 160].

2.1.1 Noun declensions (material from Appendix 9).

On the basis of mostly minor variations it appears that nouns may be grouped into nine declensions, for which the forms of specimen nouns are given in the following tables. There are also a few exceptions.

Declension 1

Nouns with final /u/

e.g. /inkapu/

'kangaroo (male)'.

Nom /inkapu/

Comit /inkapuul/

Op/Loc /inkapurl/

All /inkapert, inkaperriy/

Gen /inkapup/

Abl /inkaparn/

Purp /inkaperiy/

Caus /inkapuparl/.

Exception: /ngurru/

'nose', which has an alternative stem /nguurr/, belongs to declension 7.

Declension 2

Nouns with final /i/

e.g. /inkapi/

'female kangaroo'.

Nom /inkapi/

Comit /inkapiwel/

Op/Loc /inkapik/

All /inkapirt, inkapirriy/

Gen /inkapip/

Abl /inkaparn/(/inkapirarn/

is possible). Purp /inkapiriy/

Caus /inkapiparl/.

Exception: An alternative Comitative form /-yuul/

has been heard with /kununthi/

'mother'. /kununthiwel/

and /kununthiyuul/

[kununthiyuwel] have both been heard. [Breen: 161]

Declension 3

Nouns with obligatory final /a/

e.g. /wera/

'dog'.

Nom /wera/

Comit /werawel/

Op/Loc /werarl/

All /werart, werarriy/

Gen /werap/

Abl /werararn/

Purp /werariy/

Caus /weraparl/

Declension 4

Nouns with obligatory final non-masculine marker /-rr/. The marker /-rr/ is obligatory because the word is a member of a masculine or non-masculine form.
e.g. /werarr/

'bitch'.

Nom /werarr/

Comit /werarruul/

Op/Loc /werarrek/

All /werarrirt, werarrerriy/

Gen /wararrep/

Abl /werarrarn/

Purp /werarriy/

Caus /wararreparl/

Declension 5

Nouns with optional final non-masculine marker /-rr/
following /a/. e.g. /yukar(rr)/
'water'.

Nom /yuka, yukarr/
Comit /yukarruul/(?) Op/Loc /yukarrek/
All /yukart- yukarriy/
Gen /yukarrep/(?) Abl /yukararn/
Purp /yukariy/
Caus /yukaparl/
[Breen: 162]

Declension 6

Nouns with optional final non-masculine /-rr/
after /ii/. e.g. /petii(rr)/
'country'.

Nom /petii, petiirr/
Comit /petiiruul/
Op/Loc /petiik, petiirek/
All /petiirirt, petiirrerriy/
/petiiriy/
Gen /petiirep/
Abl /petiirarn/
Purp /petiirriy/
Caus /petiireparl/.
Exception: /kirrii(rr)/
'woman' has Op/Loc /kirriik, kirriirrij/.

Declension 7

Masculine nouns with final lateral or stop, and plural nouns. e.g. /kilyal/ 'meat'.

Nom /kilyal/

Comit /kilyaluul/

Op/Loc /kilyalij/

All /kilyalert, kilyalerriy/

Gen /kilyalep/

Abl /kilyalarn/

Purp /kilyaliy/

Caus /kilyaleparl/.

Other examples of nouns belonging to this group are: /jinkirt/

'father's mother's brother' /merntaryant/

'personal name - a son of Willy Clegg' /munjurt/

'humpy' and all plural nouns in /-awel/ or /-wul/.

Exception: /ilinhath/ 'husband (if older than wife)', 'brother-in-law (if older than the other person concerned)' has Op/Loc /ilinhathik/. It is the only masculine noun known to take this suffix. [Breen: 163]

Declension 8

Non-masculine nouns with stem-final consonant e.g. /welherr/ 'female'.

Nom /welherr/

Comit /welherruul/

Op/Loc /welherrek/

All /welherrirt, welherrerriy/(?) Gen /welherrep/

Abl /welherrrarn/

Purp /welherriy/

Caus /welherreparl/.

Other words belonging to declension.

8 include: /kutherr/
'grass' /yungunt/
'smoke' /pukarr/
'old woman' /ngenngernt/
'tucker' /marnt/
'ankle' /kilyalt/
'hen'.

Exception: the allative of /nalt/ 'humpy' has been recorded as /nalert/.
Deletion of a final consonant in such cases may be permissible if there is no masculine and non-masculine pair in the dialect.

Declension 9

Duals e.g. /werawiy/
'two dogs'.

Nom /werawiy/
Comit /werawiyawel, werayawel/
Op/Loc /werawiyarl/
All /werawiyart, werayart/
/werayarl/
/werawiyarriy/
/werayarriy/
Gen /werawiyap/
Abl /werawiyarn, werayarn/
/werayep/
Purp /werawiyariy/
Caus /werawiyaparl/
/werayariy/
/werayaparl/.

Exception: a locative /purnngawik/

'at, near the two hills' has been heard. [Breen: 34].

2.2 Noun stem formation.

Most Wakaya noun stems consist of a single morpheme, e.g. /kutanngi/ 'young woman' /ngungku/ 'snake' /nant/ 'elder sister' /yuunngi/ 'sky' /mirr/ 'navel' /wilirrki/ 'leaves' and so on. There are a number of methods of formation of compound noun stems 3.

2.2.1 Reduplication.

Some stems consist of a reduplicated simple morpheme, often one which is not known other than in the reduplicated form. Many stems corresponding to English adjectives are formed in this way; only the second of the two morphemes is modified for gender. Such adjectives include:

1. /junkujunku/ (non-m: junkujunki)

'grey' /junku/

'grey'.

2. /yukayuka/ (non-m: yukayukarr)

'wet' /yukarr/

'water'.

3. /turkuturku/

'crooked'.

4. /nyunkutenyunkut/ (non-m form ?)

'?early'**.

5. /jinpijinpi/ (non-m form ?)

'black and white'.

6. /munhumunhu/

'soft'.

Other reduplicated noun stems include:

7. /nyilenyilu, nyilenyil/
'echidna'.

8. /kilakila/
'galah'.

9. /jintirrijintirri/
'willy wagtail'.

10. /jirrka jirrka/
'hat' **.

11. /leperlepi/
'belongings'.

12. (E) /nhanngunhanngu/
'ashes' (from (E) /nhanngu/
'ashes').

13. (E) /ngutungutu/
'smoke'.

14. /ilhepilhepi/
'lungs'. [Breen: 35] Reduplication of what may be a two morpheme stem is illustrated by: 15. (E) /murtukurnumurtukurnu/ 'rough country'.

Reduplication with minor reduplication of the root on one of its occurrences in the stem is illustrated by:

16. /nyinngu-nyanngu/
'smoke, smoky'.

Partial reduplication is illustrated by:

17. (E)/yamalamala/
'crested pigeon'.

18. /wakalakala, wakalakalana/
'bat'.

An example of a stem formed by compounding of a morpheme with a reduplicated morpheme is: 19. (E)/kunupulungupulungu/ 'intestines' ((E)/kunu/ 'faeces').

An example of a stem formed by reduplication plus addition of a stem-forming suffix is: 20. /untawuntanga/ 'chicken hawk' and possibly also.

21. /wilewilka/
'river goanna' (cf. Warluwara /walawala/) Compare also example 18.

The methods of stem formation illustrated by examples 15 to 21 are quite rare, and the only examples known are those given. [Breen: 36].

2.2.2 Compounding of stems.

Formation of noun stems by compounding of roots is rare; in fact there are no examples of a stem formed by compounding of two roots known to exist as free morphemes in the language (with the possible exception of.

24. below). Cases where a compound contains one or more borrowed morphemes no longer found elsewhere in the language include: 22. (E)/minngapurrrku/

'white cockatoo' (said to mean
'white eye'; cf. (E) /miinngu/
'eye').

23. /ngurrapunngu/
'carpet snake' (/ngurru/
'nose').

24. /ngurrukupiju/
'spoonbill' (/ngurru
'nose' and possibly /kupeji/
'adze').

25. (E)/pinangala/
'frill-necked lizard'((E)/pinal/
'ear').

26. (E)/melerrementhu/
'needlebush' ((E)/melurru/
'turpentine bush').

27. /nyilemeringu/
'echidna' (/nyilenyil/
'echidna').

2.2.3 Noun stem formatives.

Noun stems formed by means of a noun stem formative can be classified according to the type of stem to which the formative is added, and also according to whether the meaning of the noun stem so formed is predictable or not. There are certain stem formatives, such as the Propriative /-werru/(m), /-werr/(non-m) 'having' which are used frequently to coin noun stems which are predictable in their meaning, e.g.

28. /mukurawerru/ '(male person) with, having a spear' and which therefore would not need to be listed [Breen: 37] in a dictionary. This type of use of such formatives will be discussed in the following sections, one section being devoted to each such formative. However, even these formatives may be used to form stems whose meaning is unpredictable, such as:

29. /ngungkuwerru/ literally '(male) with, having a snake', but translated as 'doctor' and such stems do require to be listed in a dictionary. It is obvious, of course, that there is no clear dividing line between predictability and unpredictability, and what is unpredictable for a person unfamiliar with the culture of the Wakaya might well be quite predictable for a person who has grown up in that culture. The number of unpredictable forms is quite small (even if we include forms whose meaning is unpredictable only because we do not know the root to which the formative is affixed, e.g.: 30. /tuyurru/ 'restless person; one who makes a mess'. (This) is presumably derived from a verb /tuyurru/ which in turn may be derived from a root /tuyurru/).

Among stems whose meaning is unpredictable are three derived with /-wartu/ (presumably with a non-masculine form /-warti/), a suffix to which it is impossible to attach a consistent function on the data available.

31. /kulewartu/

'a cheeky or pugnacious fellow' From /kulu/
'fighting, pugnacity'. [Breen: 38].

32. /pilyewartu/

'desiring intercourse with a woman', also
'mean, greedy'. Cf. /piilyi/
'vagina'.

33. /kinkewartu/

'murderer' From /kinku/
'dead man'.

The suffix /-wanku/ (m), /-wanki/ (non-m) denotes association and words derived with it would possibly be predictable given more data. The examples include:

34. /kuruwanki/

'harlot' Presumably from /ker-/
'to copulate'.

35. /kurukuwanku/

'drunk' From the English loanword /kuruku/

'grog'.

36. (E)/kurrkuluwanku/

'having a cold' From /kurrkulu/

'phlegm'. (/kurrkuluwerru/ would be more expectable).

See.2.2.12 for further discussion of this formative.

A number of words formed, or probably formed, with the formative /-nga/
'after' would require inclusion in a dictionary. These include:

37. /miininga/

'bachelor' Cf. /miint/

'single men's camp'.

38. /kirriinga/

'spinster' Cf. /kirriirr/

'woman'.

39. /untumarninga/

'bee' Cf. (E)/untumarnu/, (W)/untumarnt/

'honey'.

40. /mirinjinga/

'coolibah seeds' From /mirinji/

'coolibah'.

41. /wiiwanga/

'stranger' Cf. /wiy/

question particle, and /wiiwal/

'unknowing' (possibly /wiiwarl/, a locative form of a word /wiiwa/ which
could mean 'ignorance').

42. /upungutinga/

'fully initiated man' Cf. /upunguti/

'whistlecock'. [Breen: 39] Other words possibly belonging to this group include /kernkerlenga/

'eaglehawk' and /witpunga/

'headband worn by women'. See.2.2.13 for further discussion of /-nga/.

A few words formed from verb stems with the agent formative /-arnu/(m), /-arnt/(non-m) (see.2.2.15) require dictionary listing. These are: 43. (E)/tirreparnu/ 'centipede' (literally 'biter' from (E)/tirrep/'to bite').

44. /puumarnu/

given as a word for 'quail' (E), and for 'species of snake' (or probably legless lizard) (W); in the former case it is derived from the "boo boo" call of the quail at night (/m/ causative verb formative). and probably.

45. (E)/untumarnu/

'honey' (W)/untumarnt/.

46. /tirikamarnu/

'hornet'.

47. /kurulamarnu/

'species of grass' ("??popper grass").

2.2.4 Proprietary.

The suffix /-werru/(m), /-werr/(f) marks an object, substance, animal or person in the possession of or owned or controlled in some way by another object, substance, animal or person. Thus it may be used where an agent, either at rest or in motion, holds or carries some object; in certain cases where an instrumental suffix might be expected (examples 51 and 52); and also to describe some property or peculiarity, temporary or permanent, of a person, place or object (examples 53 to 55). [Breen: 40] See also example 29 above (GB:37).

Example 56 is peculiar in that the person whom one would regard as the possessor here is actually marked as possessed.

48. /impa titarr thukule-werru/
you-emph wait boomerang-prop
'You wait with a boomerang!'.

49. /ngarru penkerniy mukurra-werru/
man go-past spear-prop
'The man went away with his spear.'.

50. /penkenyintalii kilyale-werra-wiy, untumarne-werra-wiy/
go-fut-hither-we(du,ex) meat-prop-du, honey-prop-du
'We'll come back with meat and sugarbag.'.

51. /pukarru uriirre-werru penketiy/
old.man stick-prop go-pres
'The old man walks with a stick.'.

52. /penkerlarn yarremena-werru, ngininy/
go-fut-I horse-prop, that.way
'I'm going riding out there.'.

53. (E)/weriirru kutarru-werru/
tree arm-prop "Lot of limbs on that tree.".

54. /Munku kilyal, kungu-werru/
good meat, fat-prop "Good meat, got fat.".

55. /kurrkulu-werr(V)+arn/
phlegm-prop-I
'I've got a cold.'.

[Breen: 41].

56. ((E), from tape recorded by B. Blake) /wera yuwirretiy wenngirre-werru/
dog sit-pres woman-prop
'The dog is sitting with the woman.' [Breen: 164].

2.2.4.1. Proprietary (second form) (material from Appendix 9).

A rarely used proprietary suffix, occurring only in the Western corpus, is /-tinga/(masc.), /-tingarr/(non-masc.). Examples of its use are:

1. /ngunerlapel mintithingawel/
lie-fut-we(pl,in) side-other-out.of(?) -com(?) /upukitingarrek/
fire(wood) -prop-non.m-loc
'We'll camp on the other side (of the creek), where there's plenty of wood.'

2. /yuweji ngelperl, upukitingarl thurrukumerl upuki/
sun enter-fut, fire(wood) -prop-op light-fut fire
'When the sun goes down we'll light a fire.'

3. /kerewa wilepitinga/
child hair.string-prop "He's got a hair belt round his waist." [Breen: 41].

2.2.5 Kin-proprietary.

This suffix, added only to kinship terms, is probably best translated 'his/her/their', according to context. It also sometimes acts as a dual formative, possibly only when a reciprocal action is involved (see example 57; alternatively if the /u/ in the first word of this sentence is interpreted as the bound form of the pronoun 'he' the formative is not functioning as a dual. However, the corresponding suffix in the related languages Warluwara and Bularna can act as a dual).

The masculine form of the suffix is /-ngenthu/; no non-masculine form has been heard, but /-ngenthi/would be expected.

57. /lelengenthurl mantiy/
elder-brother-kin.prop hit-pres
'The two brothers are fighting.'

58. /jirrewerniipulu irrjartek lelengentharn/
spear-past-that spear-op elder.brother-kin.prop-abl
'He speared that man on account of his brother.'

59. /kerewarlanh imerl kunentiy mimiime-ngenthu/
child-op-me this-op call-pres mother's.father-kin.prop
'This kid calls me grandfather.'

[Breen: 42].

60. (E)/kerewa ngalarniy iperrungenthert/
child put.down-past grandmother-kin.prop-alla
'She left the baby with his grandmother.'

In the following example (which requires checking) /-ngenthu/
must be translated as 'your'.

61. /ingerlarnipiny murrpungawiy,/
see-fut-I-you(du)-acc night-after-du, /lelengenthu, kerrawiy/
elder.brother-kin.prop ?-du

'I'll see you and your brother tomorrow.' (or 'the day after tomorrow')
[Breen: 164].

2.2.5.1 Kin-propriative (material from Appendix 9).

The feminine form /-ngenthi/ has been confirmed.

4. /nenengenthi/
'his/her elder sister'.

Many kinship terms have an abbreviated form of this suffix which in a few cases has become part of the stem and in other cases can be deleted only in certain circumstances. The form of such suffixes varies: /-nthu, -nthi/, /-thu, -thi/, /-nhathu, -nhathi/. [Breen: 165] Examples of words with such suffixes are:

5. /kunhunthi/

'mother'; the short form /kunhi/
has been heard only in the Eastern dialect.

6. /ukuthu/

'father'; no shorter form has been heard.

7. /thunungkuthu/

'younger brother'; /inta thunungku/
'your younger brother' has been heard.

8. /thunungkuthi/

'younger sister'; presumably /thunungki/
is possible.

9. /urinhathu/

'younger brother', /urinhathi/
'younger sister' (perhaps more correctly /werinhathu/
and /werinhathi/); /werinyuwiy/ means
'both my younger brothers/sisters' and /werinyewul/
'all my sisters' and presumably, brothers.

10. /pilekuthu/

'mother's brother' has been heard only once, in /ngurninj pilekuthu/
'I'm their uncle'; /pileku/
is the usual form.

11. /mengkerrithi/

'his wife' has a short form /mengkerr/

'(my) wife'.

12. /kuthuthu/

'father's father' has not been heard in a shorter form.

Note also the irregular pair:

13. /ilinhath/

'(my) husband (if older than his wife)'; /ilingenthu/

'(her) husband (older than wife)'.

Note that kinship terms are never shortened to form a vocative. The suffix /-a/, formerly regarded [Breen: 166] as only an emphatic and certainly functioning as such in many cases, can also be used as a vocative (see 7.2, GB:154).

The basic allomorph (as it is assumed to be) /-ngenthu, -ngenthi/ cannot combine with any of the above, but may combine with all (probably) other kinship terms. It has been heard or accepted with: /lalu/

'elder brother' /nant/

'elder sister' /nhiniinu/

'son' /mimiimu/

'mother's father /

daughter's son' /iperi/

'father's mother' /kuthuthu/

'father's father' (Note error with statement in previous paragraph).
/mentiirruu/

'father-in-law' /pupapu/

'mother's brother'.

Another word with which it can combine is: /jimerru/(masc.), /jimerr/(non-masc.) 'mate, friend'.

The dual and plural suffixes may combine with the kin- propriative, e.g.

14. /thunungkuthawel yukuwa pulup/

'All his brothers.' younger.sibling-kin.prop-pl his that-gen.

15. /lallengenthawiy/

'two brothers/

elder.brother-kin.prop-du.

The morpheme /-kerra/ could possibly have the meaning 'together', although Mr Clegg disagrees (but cannot offer any alternative) and its presence in the word /ureniikerra/ 'separately' (cf. /ureninga/ 'alone') also casts doubt on it. It occurs above in example 61, GB:42 and also appears once in the Eastern corpus. It is used only with [Breen: 167] kinship terms (which include /jimerru, jimerr/ 'mate').

16. (E)/nenengenthekerawiy/

"two little sisters together" elder.sister-kin.prop-?-du.

17. /lallengenthekerawiy/

elder.brother-kin.prop-?-du can refer to

'two brothers' or

'brother and sister'.

18. /jimerrengenthekerawiy/

'two mates' can refer to people of the same or opposite sexes.

/kerra/ can occur without /-ngenthu/:

19. /jimerrekerrawiy/

'two mates'.

/-kerranga/ has been heard as an alternative to /-kerra/: 20.
/jimerrekerrangawiy/ 'two mates together'.

/-ngu/ can be used as a plural suffix after /-kerra/, apparently interchangeably with /-wel/.

21. /lələŋgəŋkəŋrəŋgə pənkarrekəŋgə/
 elder.brother-kin.prop-?-pl go.along-pres-away[?]
 'All the brothers going together.'

22. /mimiiməŋgəŋkəŋrəŋgə/
 or /mimiiməŋgəŋkəŋrəwəl/
 'grandfather and grandchildren' (/mimiimV/
 'mother's fathers', 'daughter's son', /mimiimi/'daughter's daughter'). [Breen:
 168] Other examples:

23. /θunəŋgəkəŋrəwəy/
 younger.sibling-kin pot[?]-?-du
 'two young brothers' (or, presumably, 'two young sisters').

24. /jimerreŋgəŋkəŋrəŋgəkəŋgə pənkar/
 mate-kin.prop-?-pl-away go.along-pres
 'All the mates going together.'

25. /mimiiməŋgəŋkəŋrəwəy/
 'We're grandfather and grandson.'

26. /mulumulumerləŋŋ unpəŋŋ, ipela θunəŋgəkəŋrəwəŋŋ/
 tidy.up-fut-I house, you(du)-voc younger.sibling-kin.prop-?- /ŋgumpel[?]
 martuulij θukəŋŋl θukəŋŋl leperlepi, / we(pl,in) together-pl-op- throw-fut throw-
 fut things, /piipəŋŋ/ paper
 'You and your sister can help me clean up the house.' [Breen: 42].

2.2.6 Privative.

This suffix, denoting the absence or non-possession of some thing, quality, or being, is /-ŋhawerru/(m) /-ŋhawerri/(?) (non-m).

62. /mukura-nhawerr(V)+arn/

'I haven't got a spear.' spear-priv-I.

63. /kilipi-nhawerri/

'shallow' deep-priv.

64. (E)/yuka-nhawerru-parl penkariy/

water-priv-caus go-purp

'We'll have to go away, the water's getting low.'

65. (E)/ngampelikija yuwirretiy wenngi-nhawerru, ngintemintha/

we(pl,in)-emph sit-pres woman-priv, corroborree /winintiy/ sing-pres

'We're sitting down without the women, singing corroborree.'

[Breen: 43] This suffix may also be used with a verb stem (the following example is the only one available.).

66. /wera pulu urrintama-nhawerru/

dog that bark-priv

'That dog never barks.'

2.2.7 Genitive nominaliser.

The genitive suffix on a noun is /-p/. There are several examples of the suffix /-arli(y)/ following a genitive suffix; this seems to have operative-locative and allative functions and is presumably a combined nominaliser and inflectional suffix. It is possible that the operative/locative form is /-arli/ and the allative /-arliy/. Alternatively, the nominaliser may be /-arli(y)/ and the inflection may be omitted, being on the other word in the phrase.

67. /marniyarn lalu-p-arli julepik/

kill-past-I elder.brother-gen-nom(-op) gun-op

'I killed it with my elder brother's gun.'

68. /penkerlarn pukarru-p-arli(y) irrparriy/
 go-fut-I old.man-gen-nom-(All) camp-alla
 'I'll go to the old man's camp.'

In one case the suffix seems to be /-arlip/; however this may be a mistake caused by the fact that the following word begins with /p/. [Breen: 44].

69. /penkernantarn ilawerrarn, imerriila, go-past-hither-I Alexandria-abl,
 here-loc /injilaji-p-arlip petiirriy/ Indjiladji-gen-nom-(All) country-alla
 'I came from Alexandria here to Indjiladji country.'

2.2.8 Dual.

The dual suffix is /-wiy/ or /-awiy/. The latter allomorph seems to be used in most cases, while the former is well-attested only in the words: /kijiiwiy/

'two' /pulewiy/
 'those two', (from /pulu/
 'that') /imuwiyl/(imewiy?/
 'these two', (from /imu/
 'this (m)')

It is also recorded for the Eastern dialect following the kin- proprietive /-ngenthu/. However, there may be some fluctuation between the two forms, as /ngarrewiy/ 'two men' has been recorded as well as /ngarrawiy/. The two forms are, of course, indistinguishable after a stem-final /a/, e.g. /werawiy/ 'two dogs' /intawiy/ 'your two' /kerewawiy/ 'two children' (but the last one has also a shortened form /kerewiy/). The second form has been noted with a couple of stems which are not regarded as nouns: /maart/ 'together' and /il/ 'relative/subordinate marker' (see examples 72 and 73.).

The dual and other number markers (two plural forms) are optional and are often omitted. Note, however, that the root of the word 'two' - [Breen: 45] /kijii/ or /kijiy/, is never used as a free form and the suffix /-wiy/ is omitted only in inflected forms, e.g. allative /kijiyart/.

70. (E)kijii-wiy werra-wiy[sic] ngetha-wiy two-du dog-du my-du
 'I've got two dogs.'

71. (E)kilyalarn nhengerniy, pulu-wiy-ariy meat-I get-past that-du-purp
'I've got meat for those two fellows.'

72. (E)ngalant penkerniy, maart-awiy/
we(du,in)-? go-past, together-du
'We went along together.'

73. /kere-wiy japukul-awiy, puluwur-awiy, puluwuru ila-wiy/
child-du small-du, boy-du, boy-du rel-du
'Two small children, two boys.'

2.2.9 Plural.

The plural stem formative is /-wul/ or /-awel/(Western), /- wulu/(Eastern). The distribution of the two Western forms has still to be established, but it is probably similar to that of the forms for the dual. Possibly another rule is that /-wul/ follows a final long vowel (see 74.).

74. /imi kany kirrii-wul-uul/
this(non.m) that.way woman-pl-com "She's down there with a mob of gins.".[Breen: 46].

75. /kere-wul-eparl penpamentiy/
child-pl-caus hide(tr)-pres
'I'm hiding it from the kids.'

76. /ngarrith-awel-ij thukerl upukirt/
man-alt-pl-op throw-fut fire-alla "Another mob of blackfellows (will) chuck it in the fire."

Note (example 75) that /kerewa/

'child' has a shortened plural, as well as dual, form.

2.2.10 Plural (second form).

The suffix /-manha/ occurs only in the Western Wakaya corpus and is rarely used; the only forms noted with this suffix are /pulumanha/ 'those (pl)' and /ngarremanha/ 'men'.

77. /yantepikaniy yuwerretiy 'needlebush'-ikemik/

there-loc-we(pl,ex) sit-pres needlebush-loc-here-** /ngarre-manha yuwerretiy/
man-pl sit-pres

'We're camped here where the needlebushes are, all the blackfellows camped.'
[Breen: 168].

2.2.10.2 Human 'all' (material from Appendix 9).

This suffix refers only to humans and can be translated 'all' or 'only' (in the sense of 'no A, only B'). It seems to be restricted in the kinship terms to which it can be added. Thus it can be used with /lalu/, /werinhathu, werinhathi/ and /pileku/ but not with /thunungkuthu/, /ngulinthu/, /lemperrngu/('cousin') or /ngitha/('sister's son'). The form of the suffix is /-iny/. [Breen: 169].

27. /lalinyewul/

'all my brothers'.

28. /werinyewul/

'all my sisters' (and brothers?).

29. /pilekinyuul yuwerrakany ilawerrurl/

mother's.brother-all-pl sit-ger-over.there Alexandria-loc

'All my uncles are at Alexandria.'

30. /thunungkuthawel yukuwa pulup/

'all his brothers' younger.sibling-kin.prop-pl his that-gen.

31. /ngulinthawel/

'all the fathers (of the initiands)' father-pl.

Perhaps /-iny/ cannot be used with the kin-propriative, even a no longer detachable form of it.

Other examples are:

32. /thuula nganii kuweny minyentiy, welherriy merlt/
only we(pl,ex) boy-all hold-pres, female-purp no
'We've got no girls here, only boys.'

33. /puluurriy merlt, kerewiny minyentiy pulu/
boy-purp no, child(?) -all hold-pres that
'He's got no sons, only daughters.' (?) [Breen: 46].

2.2.11 Alternative.

This suffix - /-ithu/(m), /-ithi/(non-m) - denotes '(an)other' and thus distinguishes some person(s) or thing(s) from another/others previously referred to or inferred. The initial /i/ is deleted after a stem-final /a/. A unique form of the suffix occurs in the word /yukuuthu/ 'another' (cf. /yukunngu/ 'one'). Note example 78. [Breen: 47] where this word is used twice with the meaning 'one(.)another'.

78. (E)/yukuuthu wiingku, yukuuthu minnginnga/
another raw, another cooked "one raw one and one cooked one."

79. (E)/penketiy pulu ngininy, ngarrithurt/
go-pres that that.way, man-alt-alla
'She's going over there, to the other man.'

80. (E)/unpatherl yuwirretiy/
house-alt-loc sit-pres "He's stopping on another station now."

81. (E)/ngunngitherlarn jirrerniy/

day-alt-loc-I sick-past

'I was sick yesterday.'

82. /mingkithi kany; mingkithinhawerrek kantumila/

ground-alt that.way; ground-alt-priv-loc ?-(here-loc)?

'A long way away';

'Not far away.'

2.2.12 Associative.

The suffix /-wanku/(m), /-wanki/(non-m) to which the above name has tentatively been attached has been briefly discussed above (2.2.3, GB:38). The following examples further illustrate its use.

83. /ungk pulewiy, unkg kurukuwankawiy/

hunt that-du, hunt grog-assoc-du

'Hunt them away, they're drunk.'

84. /kurukuwankik mantiy kerrewaanguwa [sic]/

grog-assoc(non.m)-op hit-pres child-that-gen

'That drunken woman belts her kid.'

[Breen: 48].

85. /nhengelewankimi yukariy, kalapung/

what-assoc-this(non.m) water-purp, not-we(pl,in)-purp /inpetiy/

fall-pres

'What's wrong with these clouds, it won't rain?'

86. /nhengelewankupuleriy, nginapar1 kulupulu/
what-assoc-that-purp, maybe pugnacious-that /ilathing/
rel-me-purp
'What's wrong with him, he's nasty to me?'.

Note the use of the Purposive case in 85 and 86.

A possible variant of this suffix - /-ank/ - has been heard once: 87.
/kerewulank ngupumentiy utelt nguparretiyarn,/ child-pl-(assoc?) bad-caus-pres
stomach bad-become-pres-I /tuyurrunarnuparl/ restless-caus

"I'm tired of the kids running all round the camp."

2.2.13 After, out of.

The suffix /-nga/, for which I am at present unable to concoct a name, can often be translated 'after', while in certain other cases the meaning 'out of' seems more appropriate (see examples 37 to 41 above, GB:38): a bachelor is someone out of the single men's camp; a spinster is from the women('s camp) - the word /kirriirr/ is also given for 'single women's camp' as well as its common meaning 'woman'; /untumarnu/ probably means 'bees' nest' as well as 'honey', and a stranger is 'out of the unknown').

88. /lanngemerniyani yukanga penkangirt wirringinj/
find-past-we(pl,ex) water-after go-nom-lig-alla across
"We found him after he had a drink, going across."

89. /ngunngunga, nguninthanga, inanthij, welim penkangi/
sleep-after, lie-nom-after, get.up-impf, right go-nom-lig-?
'After he had a sleep, he walked on.'

90. (E)/nginapar1 yuka inper1, nginapar1 murrpunga/
maybe water fall-fut, maybe night-after "The rain might fall down; it might fall tomorrow."

An allomorph, /-anga/, seems to be used in deriving /perijanga/ 'old' from /perij/ 'a long time ago'.

/-nga/ may also occur in /mintithingawul/ or /mintithingarr/ 'on the other side'.

2.2.14 Locational.

A compound suffix /-ntinga/ is attached to direction names and certain other locative words. In the case of the direction names a stem-final /l/ is deleted.

91. /ngujintingarr/

'on the north side' from /ngujil/

'north'.

92. /ngelimintingarrek/

'on the south side (loc)' and /ngelimintinga unerri/

'south wind' from /ngelimil/

'south'. [Breen: 49].

93. /keliintinga (or /keliyintinga/?) unerri/

'west wind' from /keliil/

'west'.

The final part of this compound suffix, /-nti/, with a following /-l/ (or /-rl/ locative ?) is heard in: 94. /kekirrntil/ 'on the east' from /kekirr/ 'east'.

Other examples of /-intinga/ are: 95. /nguli'ntinga, nguli'ntingawerr/

'behind' from /ngularr/ 'behind' (Note that suffix initial /i/

here replaces /a/.). and probably: 96. /wejintinga/ 'on the left'.

2.2.15 Agent.

The agent formative derives nouns from verb stems, forming nouns corresponding to English nouns in '-er'. The form is /-arnu/ (m), /-arnt/ (non-m).

There is one example of the latter form in the Eastern dialect - perhaps a borrowing rather than a rule of the gender system; this is /kuwarnt/ 'cook'.

The following examples illustrate the use of this formative; see other examples 30 and 43 to 47 above (GB:37 and 39).

97. /meket kunjarnu/
always drink-ag
'He drinks too much.'

[Breen: 51].

98. /ngunarnu pulu, urriikik/
sleep-ag that, shade-loc
'He sleeps in the shade all the time.'

99. /inta merremanju marnu/
your plains.goanna kill-ag
'Yours (dog) is a goanna-killer.'

100. (E)/Junkurlu, thukurl ngiiparnu/
old-op, boomerang make-ag
'The old man can make boomerangs.'

Note the use of the operative case form in 100. This may be incorrect, but there is a similar usage in Warluwara.

2.2.16 Gerund.

The gerund formative (given in literal translations as 'nom' for 'nominaliser') is not used primarily to form stems which function as normal nouns, but to form a nominalised verb which either functions syntactically as a verb in the past tense, or forms a stem to which certain nominal inflections may be added (sometimes with a ligative intervening) for the purpose of forming a subordinate or Purposive clause (see sections 1.4 and 1.5). However, there is

one gerund form which is translated as a noun and functions as one syntactically and morphologically. This is.

101. /ngintemintharr/
'corroboree' from /ngintem/
'to dance', as in /Jinperlarn ngintemintharr/
sing-fut-I corroboree
'I'll sing a song.'

The /-rr/ is the non-masculine marker. Other uses of the gerund are discussed elsewhere (4.2.7). [Breen: 169].

2.2.17 'Looking for' (material from Appendix 9).

The affix /-wartu/ (see 2.2.3, GB:37-8) can sometimes be translated 'looking for'. It has a non-masculine form /-wart/ and is only known from the Western dialect.

34. /wenngerrampii ngupungupi, kinkewart/
woman-she-that bad-non.m dead.body-looking.for
'That woman is a murderer.'

[Breen: 170].

35. /ilekak, parnikanii penkarr/
along.the.bank, road-loc-we(pl,ex) go.along-pres /jipilyewartu/ duck-
looking.for
'We go along the bank of the river looking for ducks.'

It can be added to a verb stem, as in 36. /kerewart/
'harlot' copulate-looking.for(non.m).

The translation 'looking for' does not seem quite appropriate for the following case, nor for example 34.

37. /penungkewartu/

swim-looking.for

'(He's got sore arms from) too much swimming.'

2.2.18 'Owner' (material from Appendix 9).

The affix /-wirriya/(masc.), /-wirriyarr/(non-masc) means 'owner of the thing denoted by the stem to which it is affixed'; it is thus a type of Propriative although more limited in its scope than /-werru, -werr/. It is only known in the Western dialect. There are no examples in the corpus of its addition to a human noun, but the informant accepted /kerewawirriya/ 'child- owner'.

38. /marniyarn, werawirriyarl/

hit-past-I, dog-owner-I

'I hit that dog because I own him.'

[Breen: 171].

39. /yuwupulu nalewirriya/

he-that humpy-owner

'That fellow's the owner of the humpy.'

40. /ngurninj inkapu jirrewerniy ngurninj, ngurninj/

I kangaroo spear-past I, I /kilyalewirriya/ meat-owner

'It was me (not him) who speared the kangaroo.'

2.2.19 'Giver' (material from Appendix 9).

The suffix /-mirru/(masc.), /-mirr/(non-masc) seems to mean 'giver of the thing denoted by the word to which it is affixed'. The only examples are from the Western dialect. One word formed with this affix whose meaning may not be completely predictable is: 41. /kertijemirr/ 'woman' coolamon-giver(non.m).

42. /upukarn tiimerntiy puleriy, kilyalemirreri/

fire(wood)-I chop-pres that-purp,

"He only the bloke that give us beef, I'll cut a bit of wood for him."

A possible etymology of the Eastern dialect word transcribed (perhaps not quite corectly) as /nyilemeringu/ 'porcupine (i.e. echidna)' is: /nyil/ 'needle' + /-mirru/ + /-ngu/(/nyil/ 'needle' is not attested, but /nyilenyil/ is both 'porcupine' [Breen: 172] and 'needlebush' and /nyirli/ is 'needle' in Warluwara). /-ngu/ may be an old plural suffix preserved now only in conjunctions with /-kerra/(see GB:166-8). /-mirru/-mirr/ may be a development from an older Propriative suffix.

2.2.20 'Too much' (material from Appendix 9).

There are a couple of examples in the Western corpus of what seems to be a formative with the meaning 'too much'. Its form is /-pela/; a non-masculine /-pelarr/ would be expected.

43. /marerniyarnepulert ngininy tungarring, pa pii kij/

say-past-I-that-alla that.way keep.quiet-? and still /marretiy. injilpela/
talk-pres word-too.much

'I told him to shut up but he's still talking' "Too much tongue" (Note the use of /pa/, normally translated 'and', to mean 'but'.).

44. /parnipela/

road-too much "He got too many roads to go; he can go anywhere at all; he go this way, he go that way, he go anywhere."

The informant accepted /kurukepela/ 'too much grog' but not some other suggested compounds with /-pela/. [Breen: 173].

2.2.21 'Not very' (material from Appendix 9).

The suffix /-mininga/(masc), /-minigarr/(non-masc) seems to have a weak diminutive effect on the meaning of the stem to which it is attached. It is known only in the Western dialect.

45. /pethepii kilipi ngarkwanepii, kilipiminingarre/
dig-that deep hole-it(acc)-that, deep-not.very-non.m
'Make that hole a bit deeper.'

46. /ngupumininga/
"Not too good" bad-not.very.

47. /maneminingari/
fat-not.very-purp(?)
'He's getting fat (of a horse which has been in poor condition).'

When asked what /pertiipemininga/(big-not.very) would mean, the informant illustrated by pointing to a boy about.

10 playing with two smaller boys, and said that he was /pertiipemininga/.

2.2.22 'All' (material from Appendix 9).

The suffix /-wutel/, which seems not to have separate gender forms, means 'all', 'the whole of'. It may be a type of plural. The examples are all from Western Wagaya.[Breen: 174].

48. /upukikanh wirrinmanth, walewerniyanh/
fire-op-me burn.by.radiation-impf, burn-past-me /lape-wutel jina-wutel/ hand-
all foot-all
'The fire burnt me, all (over) my hands and feet.'

49. /manthingkup, irrjartek, ngarre-wutel;/
hit-impf-?-he-refl, spear-op, man-all /jirrewunthiy muukel, kirrii-wutel,
kerewa-wutel/ spear-impf all, woman-all, child-all
'All the men fought with spears; they speared everyone, all the women and all the children.'

(Note: /ngarrewutelij/, the operative form, would probably be more correct than /ngarrewutel/. Note also the use of the singular reflexive pronoun /-up/

where the plural reflexive/reciprocal /-alep/ would be expected. This may be acceptable; there are other similar examples in the corpus.).

50. /ngulinthawel weninthariy, kunhunthe-wutel/

father-pl dance-purp, mother-all

'All the fathers and mothers (of the initiands) were ready to dance.'

[Breen: 175].

51. /ngurrertintap ulpetem miingkanipii, kurrkule-wutel/

nose-alla-you-refl wipe dirt-it(acc)-that, phlegm-all

'Wipe the dirt from your nose.'

2.2.23 Other noun stem formatives (material from Appendix 9).

/yukunngewartu/(masc.), /yukunngewart/(non-masc.) (or possibly /yukunngwart(u)/) is derived from /yukunngu/(masc.), /yukunngi/(non-masc.) 'one' and is translated by the informant as "one or two". Compare /-wartu/-wart/ 'looking for' (2.2.17, GB:169-70).

52. /merlta, kalarn larretiy, injilt yukunngewart/

no-emph, not-I hear-pres, word one.or.two "One or two words (of the language), that's what I can understand."

The word /ilekak/ is derived from /ileki/ 'creek' and seems to mean 'along the bank'. It may be an adverb rather than a noun. However, there is what may be a locative /rl/ in example 53. One would expect /ilekak/ to be non-masculine with locative /ilekakik/, but three successive /k/s may be undesirable. Attempts to elucidate other inflected forms or even have them accepted have not been successful. The word does not occur in the Eastern corpus.[Breen: 176].

53. /urrungurr, yuka ilekakerl/

lignum, water along.the.bank-loc(?)

'There is lignum on the bank of the river.'

Compare: 54. /thurtangi thepel ilekak/

long-non.m grass along.the.bank

'There is long dry grass on the bank of the river.'

2.3 Noun inflection.

Nouns in Wakaya follow a Nominative-Ergative pattern of inflection. A suffix which was originally interpreted as an optional accusative suffix is now regarded probably as a bound third person singular accusative pronoun. It is quite rare in the Western dialect. Nominative is marked by zero and other cases by a suffix.

2.3.1 Nominative.

The nominative case is used for:

(a) subject of a verbless sentence.

1. /kernkerlenga piintikany yuunngik/

eaglehawk far-over.there sky-loc

'The eaglehawk is high up in the sky.'

(b) both constituents of an equational sentence.

2. /wilyirrki kenemparr/

leaf green-non.masc

'The leaves are green.'

(c) subject of an intransitive verb.

3. (E)/menhal walewenty/

fire burn-pres

'The fire's burning.'

(d) object of a transitive verb.

4. /marnarn ujepu ingerniy/

fat-I carney see-past

'I saw a fat carney.'

[Breen: 53] At least two verbs take two objects in the nominative case - /ngunt/ 'to give' (the objects being the gift and the recipient) and /pent/ 'to take away' (the objects being the thing taken and the loser). The latter requires confirmation.

(e) person (or thing?) addressed, i.e. vocative.

5. /urtiki, urтики, yukarriyarn penkerlewa/

mother, mother, water-alla-I go-fut-?

'Mum, Mum, can I go down to the waterhole?'

2.3.2 Accusative clitic.

Although the accusative marker is now regarded as probably not an inflectional suffix, it will be discussed at this point.

The form of the accusative marker is not completely clear at present. One of the Eastern informants (MK) usually has /- ruwiny/; the other (DJ) has a shorter form, /-runy/. The Western form seems to correspond more closely to the latter, though with an on-glide to the nasal that could perhaps be interpreted as a syllable [-ru_i_ny] = /runy/ or /ruwiny/.) The third person singular accusative pronoun is /yuwiny/ and the bound form of this, according to the normal rule for giving bound pronouns in Wakaya, would be /-uwiny/. The nature and formation of the initial /r/ of the suffix are not known.[Breen: 54] The decision to regard this marker as a bound pronoun is supported by the fact that there are, in the Eastern Wakaya corpus, a few examples of nominative forms marked by /-ru/ - and /-u/ is the bound form of the third person singular nominative pronoun.

6. (E)/welim pulu utakirrerniy unuru/

right that break-past wind-Nom

'The wind's dying down now.'

7. (E)/perningketiy yuu minhaleru/

float-pres it fire(wood)-Nom

'That wood floats.'

8. (E)/ngungkuru pulu kentenga ngunentiy/

snake-Nom that inside lie-pres 'The snakes are in their holes.' (Perhaps this should be: 'The snake is in its hole.').

The accusative marker (glossed Acc in the examples below) tends to occur most commonly when the noun to which it is attached occupies last place in a clause; however, even then it is not common. It is much more frequent in the speech of Mrs Karkadoo than other informants. The nominative marker does not seem to have this preference for final position; however, with only about eight examples in the corpus (all but two from MK) one cannot be sure.[Breen: 55] The following examples illustrate the accusative.

9. (E)/laburuny yukupu nenkirrerniing/

hand-acc he-refl cut-past-then

'He cut his hand.'

10. (E)/marniy pulerl weraruny, urintamarnu/

hit-past that-op dog-acc, bark-ag

'He killed the dog because it was always barking.'

11. (E)/kulumarniy werarl, kilyaleruwiny/

bury-past dog-op, meat-acc

'The dog buried the meat.'

12. /pulkurunyepulu ing miinngi/

man-acc-that look eye "You have a look at his eyes."

2.3.3 Operative/Locative.

Operative and locative are normally, in Australian languages, marked by two different but related suffixes. In Wakaya, as in some other languages, loss of the final vowel has neutralized this distinction.

The Operative/locative marker is unique among nominal suffixes in Wakaya in that it has two different, apparently unrelated forms for the two genders, /-rl/ being used with masculine nouns and /-k/ with non-masculine nouns. A third form /-j/ is used with plural nouns and a handful of other nouns, most ending with a lateral consonant.[Breen: 56] The non-masculine form /-k/ is probably cognate with the Warluwara and Bularnu suffixes /-ku/ and /-ka/. However, the Eastern dialect, closer geographically and slightly closer lexically and phonetically to these two languages, uses only /-rl/(with rare exceptions). This can be attributed to the way in which Eastern Wakaya lost its noun class distinction by converting all non-masculine nouns to the corresponding masculine form, so that only the masculine operative/locative suffix was retained.

The functions of this suffix can be divided into three groups: (a) Agentive or Ergative, marking the subject of a transitive verb. Such a subject need not be animate, nor need it initiate the action (see examples 15 and 16). Where the subject phrase contains more than one word it appears that both words carry the inflection, whether the phrase is continuous or not (examples 17 and 18). Example 21 is peculiar as the verb has no object.

13. /urinhatherl kukumu kurrkumerniy/

young.brother-op fish catch-past

'My young brother caught a fish.'

14. /urinhathik kuwerniy/

young.sister-op cook-past

'My young sister cooked it.'

[Breen: 56] 1.

15. /yunguntekanh marniy/

The verb /ma/, normally 'to hit, to kill', is used sometimes with the general meaning 'to affect adversely', the more specific meaning being inferred from the nature of the subject. A sentence like /werarlanh marniy/, 'The dog bit me', is quite common. smoke-op-me hit-past 'The smoke made me cough.'

16. /pujukangu inkapu, kertewelarrekanh ngintiminji/

run-nom-lig-he(?) kangaroo, gidgea-op-me block-impf

'The kangaroo got away because the gidgeas blocked me.'

17. /werarl yukuwarl marniy ngetha wera/

dog-op his-op hit-past my dog

'His dog bit mine.'

18. (E)/wera pulerl mantiy, urungkuwurungkurl/

dog that-op hit-pres, mad-op "That bloke must be mad, killing his dog."

19. /intarlanh thukii/

you-op-me throw-pot

'Your (horse) might throw me.'

The only instance of an agent marked by /-k/ in the Eastern dialect is in

20. /winthingarl lekerniy? Inta kunhik/

who-op take-past your mother-op

".wonder who took it?" "Mummy took that."

21. /werarl urrintemantiy/

dog-op bark-pres

'The dog's barking.'

[Breen: 58] (b) Instrumental, marking the instrument of an action or the material of which something is made. The instrument may be associated with an intransitive verb (examples 24, 25). An instrument may be animate, though rarely

(and, in fact, there are no examples in the Western corpus and no examples of /-rl/ marking instrument in that dialect). See example 27.

22. /jirrewerniyarn lapik/

poke-past-I hand-op

'I punched him.'

23. /irrweltekathap nenkerrerniy/

finger nail-op-I-refl cut-past

'I cut myself with my fingernail.'

24. (E)/yuka nguninj nhengenthariy inkapurl/

water I get-purp kangaroo-op

'I'm going to get water with my kangaroo-skin water-bag.'

25. (E)/nguninj maretiy Wakayarl/

I talk-pres Wakaya-op

'I speak Wakaya.'

26. /pinilkutawiy, injilt maretiy lapik/

ear-shut-du, word speak-pres hand-op

'Those two deaf people are speaking with their hands.' (Perhaps here /mar/ is functioning as a transitive verb with object /injilt/.)

27. /naltarn muwinj, wilyirrkik/

humpy-I make-impf, bush-op

'I made a humpy out of bushes.'

[Breen: 59].

28. (E)/ilarn lekemurli ngetha wera, marliyern ngetharl werarl/

rel-I take-irreal my dog, kill-past-purp-I my-op dog-op /kenanthuwiny/ emu-he-acc(?)

'If I had taken my dog I could have caught that emu.'

(c) Locative, which refers to location in time and sometimes duration, as well as location in space. Since location is normally specified in terms of an inanimate object or place, locative in the Western dialect is nearly always marked by /-k/.

29. /kathi julepik uriirrek/

nest hollow-loc tree-loc

'A nest in a hollow (branch of a) tree.'

30. /parnithikimp penka/

way-alt-loc-you go-nom

'You went the wrong way.'

31. (E)/nguninj ngemparrerniy murrparl, ngetha irrpa, ilekurl/

I camp-past night-loc, my camp creek-loc

"I camp over there last night in that creek down there."

32. (E)/ngunngitherlarn jirrerniy/

day-alt-loc-I sick-past

'I was sick yesterday.'

33. /winthik nant?/

where-loc elder.sister

'Where's your sister?'. [Breen: 60].

34. /nant yuwirretiy ilinhatherl/

elder.sister sit-pres brother.in.law-loc

"My sister is sitting with my brother-in-law."

35. /utukarrik imp yuwijik miikemerniy, intan nalt/

how.many-loc you sun-loc make-past, your-non-m** humpy

'How many days did it take you to make your humpy?'

The following example illustrates the non-use of locative to mark duration.

36. /nguninj yuwerrariy Jilanherrarl kijiwinthariy, kijiiwi/

I sit-purp Camooweal two-verbaliser-purp two /ngunnguwi/ day-du

'I'm going to stay at Camooweal for two days.'

The use of the affix /-rl/ with a nominalised verb to denote continuing action in which the subjects of the two actions involved are the same has been discussed above (1.5, GB:22-3).

The examples below illustrate the use of the third form of the operative/locative suffix, /-ij/. This is used with nouns ending in a lateral consonant (including places), and has been heard with two other words - /kirriirr/ 'woman' (but meaning 'women' in the context in which /-ij/ was heard) and /menkat/ 'skin'. [Breen: 61].

37. (E)/ngarrurl marniy, thukurlij/

man-op hit-past, boomerang-op

'The man hit (me) with a boomerang.' (Blake tape).

38. (E)/kerewulij purnngu thuketiy/

child-pl-op stone throw-pres

'Those kids are throwing stones.'

39. /imi kany Kamuwilij/

this(non-m) that.way Camooweal-loc

'She's in Camooweal.'

40. (E)/yuwirretiy imp ngetharl menkatij marrajurl/

sit-pres you my-loc skin-loc kangaroo-loc

'You're sitting on my kangaroo skin.'

Compare also the suffix /-iji/ or /-ithi/, discussed in 2.4.

2.3.4. Genitive.

In addition to its normal function of marking the owner or possessor of some person, thing or quality, the genitive suffix may also mark the cause of some state (see examples 47, 48 and 50, and compare the similar function in Warluwara). See above (2.2.7, GB:43-4) for nominalisation of genitives. Note that the genitive does not normally mark the owner of a body part; thus the corpus includes the phrases.

41. (E)/kil nguungku menkart/

like snake skin

'like a snake skin'.

and 42. (E)/kernkelengarl inyerl/

eaglehawk-op feather-op

'with eaglehawk feathers'. [Breen: 62] but also.

43. (E)/piyalepulu marrajup/

blood-that kangaroo-gen

'That's kangaroo blood.'.

The following examples show the use of the genitive.

44. /unparr walewunj upukik ukuthup/

house burn-impf fire-op father-gen

'My father's house got burnt.'.

45. /imup piintikany yuwerra/

this-gen far-over.there sit-nom

'It belongs to that fellow, sitting way over there.'.

46. /wintiju purnngip, pijingkarrep/

wallaroo hill-gen, limestone-gen

'Wallaroos belong to the hills, to the limestone country.'

47. /uteltarn nguparretiy, nuurru kilyalep, ilarn/

stomach-I bad-become-pres, rotten-gen meat-gen, rel-I /wetha/ eat-nom

'Im sick from eating rotten meat.' (Ablative may also be used in a similar sentence, see 2.3.7.).

48. (E)/tiimerniyarn, menhelek lapathap thuula/

chop-past-I fire(wood)-gen hand-I-refl just /nenkerrerniy/

cut-past

"I just cut my hand a little bit, cutting a bit of wood."

The /a/ before the genitive suffix is puzzling in the following example, as is the /u/ before the genitive in the next one.[Breen: 63].

49. (E)/lalengenthap kinjirrerniy/

elder.brother-kin.prop-?-gen take-past

'He took his brother's (wife).'

50. /layi pulu kulpirra, thukultup/

head that swell-nom, boomerang-?-gen

"Somebody hit him and made a lump."

2.3.5 Purposive.

The suffix /-riy/ or /-iy/ marks the purpose of, or beneficiary of, an action. It also marks the direct object of a purposive verb in a subordinate clause. (See 1.4 and 1.5 and example 57). Certain verbs, such as /ngiwirr/ 'to like' and /urrema/ 'to look for' normally, but not obligatorily, at least in the latter case - take a purposive object. Purposive verbs are formed by adding the same suffix to the nominalised verb stem (examples 52, 57, 58).

The allomorph /-iy/(or possibly /ii/) occurs only in Western Wakaya and is used with stem-final laterals and rhotics and with final consonant clusters. It

seems to be an optional alternant with some words; the forms /ilinjiriy/ and /ilinjiy/ 'for food', and /wiiperiy/ and /wiipiy/ 'for a whip' have been heard.

51. /yukariyarn penkerla/
water-purp-I go-fut-?
'I'm going to go and get some water.'.

[Breen: 64].

52. /wenngipiy muunki, ilinjiriy, kunthariy/
woman-that good(non-m), food-purp, cook-purp
'That woman is a good cook.'.

53. (E)/mareji nguninj kerewariy intariy/
talk-impf I child-purp your-purp
'I was talking about your kids.'.

54. (E)/kutanngeri urremantiy, mangarlanga/
young.woman-purp look.about-pres, white.man
"The manager looking for a young girl.".

55. (E)/purnngu pulu nheng, urampanguriy/
stone that get, spear-purp
"You get that stone there and sharpen this spear.".

56. /muunku pulu yarremenariy/
good that horse-purp
'He's a good man with horses.'.

57. /thangarretiyarn menthariy puleriy/
want-pres-I hit-purp that-purp
'I want to hit him.'.

58. /iningkijiyarn puleriy pukarreriy injilt larrejariy/
listen-impf-I that-purp old.man-purp word hear-purp.
'I've been listening to the old man telling a story.' (literally,
'I've been listening to that old man to hear a story.').

59. (E)/kilarn ngiwirretiy imeriy irrpariy/
not-I like-pres this-purp camp-purp
'I don't like this place.'.

[Breen: 65].

2.3.6 Causal.

The suffix /-parl/ denotes 'because of' or sometimes 'away from' and marks the cause of an action (but not of a tangible state, cf. 2.3.4).

60. (E)/naluwarn ngamenthariy, yukaparl/
humpy-I make-purp, water-caus "I'll make a humpy, it might rain.".

61. /ngultethanpart upukiparl/
return-hither fire-caus
'Come away from the fire.'.

62. /ingelingintap unpernuparl, ilinpulu wethii/
watch-you-refl spider-caus, rel-you(acc)-that bite-pot
'Watch out for those spiders (that spider?), they can bite.'.

Note the idiomatic use in the following example 63. (E)/ngunuwunirrerniy yukaparl, kilarn nhengerniy yuka/ forget-past water-caus, not-I get-past water
'I forgot to get the water.'.

2.3.7 Allative.

There are two nominal inflectional suffixes which can be described by this name and the difference in function between them is obscure. The most frequent form is /-rt/ and the other /-rriy/. The second form is particularly uncommon in the Eastern dialect, although it seems to be used regularly with /unpa/ 'house'(?); note also the following example: 64. (E)/yuwerral murrpurirriy/ sit-we(du,in) dark-alla 'We'll stay until sunset.'.

[Breen: 66] Another example in which /-rriy/ is equivalent to English 'until' is.

65. /penkarrikany mintiikirriy/
go.along-pres-away long.time-alla
'He's going away for a long time.'.

/-rt/ does not seem to be used with this function. However, note.

66. /penkerniy merrpiyart/
go-past this.morning(-allaa?)
'He went away this morning.'.

It is not clear here whether /-rt/ is an allative marker or part of a unique stem formative /-iyart/. (See 5.1, Adverbs of time).

The verb /ngela/ 'to put' governs an indirect object in the allative /-rt/.

67. /unparrirt ngela, kilyal/
house-alla put, meat
'Put the meat in the house.'.

68. /kelatharn meket ngelantiy miinnigirt/
glasses-I always put-pres eye-alla
'I always wear glasses.'.

69. (E)/kerewa ngelarniy iperrungenthert/
child put-past grandmother-kin.prop-alla
"She left (the baby) with his granny."

However, this does not seem to apply to the (presumably) compound verb /jinpengela/ 'to hang (tr.)'. When asked for the sentence 'put it near the tree', the informant gave: 70. /uriirrert ngela/ tree-alla put.[Breen: 67] and then added: 71. /uriirrirriy jinpengela/ tree-alla hang "Hang it up in the tree."

Some other non-motion verbs which take or may take an allative indirect object are /mar/ 'to talk', /ing/ 'to see' and /int/ 'to tie'.

72. /wenthingartimp marerniy/
who-alla-you talk-past
'Who were you talking to?'

73. /ingentiyathap uriiki yukarrirt/
see-pres-I-refl shadow water-alla
'I can see myself in the water.'

74. /uriirrertarn interniy/
tree-alla-I tie-past
'I tied him to a tree.'

Perhaps in the last case the verb may be thought of as involving motion. Similar cases, where the verb involves motion of the direct object, if not of the subject, are:

75. /inkapurl wera ngurrungunta yukarrirt/
kangaroo-op dog drown-nom water-alla
'The kangaroo drowned the dog in the water.'

76. /yukarrarnemila minyentiy nguninj thukerl upukirt/
water-I-here hold-pres I throw-fut fire-alla
'I've got water to put out (i.e. throw on) the fire.'

It appears, therefore, that /jinpengela/ is untypical of verbs of this type and more comparable with a verb [Breen: 68] like that in the following.

77. /tileperlarn Lake.Nash-erriy/
send-fut-I Lake.Nash-alla
'I'll send (a message) to Lake Nash.'

/-rt/ seems to be used also with verbs of local motion, i.e. where the distance involved is small, and consequently it is the form of allative that is almost always associated with demonstratives. /-rriy/ seems to be used where travel (i.e. to more or less distant places) is involved, and is the normal form of allative used with place names (but the Eastern dialect uses /-rt/ with place names.) Compare examples 78 and 79.

78. /nguperrariyarn penkerl, yukarriyrt/
bathe-purp-I go-fut water-alla
'I'm going down to the water for a bath.'

79. /winthi imp yukarriy penketiy/
where you water-alla go-pres
'What waterhole are you going to?'

80. /penk pululirt/
/penk imiyart/
go that-pl-alla/
go this-du-alla
'Go over to them.'
'Go over to those two.'

81. /merrperrikarn penka ternterirriy/
dark-loc-I go-nom ridge-alla
'I went to the ridge during the night.'

82. /ngultethanparrikanyemu Ilawerrirriy/
return-along-pres-away-this Alexandria-alla
'He's gone back to Alexandria.'

[Breen: 69].

83. /penkerlal yawilpapiyarriy irrparriy/
go-fut-we(du,in) they(du)-gen-that-du-alla camp-alla
'We'll go to those two fellows' camp.'

84. /ngininy purnngirriy yangkuwirriy/
that.way hill-alla that-alla
'They went towards those hills.'

85. /irinha pujuka mulerrirriy/
wild.(dog) run-nom turpentine.bush-alla
'The dingo ran into the scrub.'

The use of the allative /-rt/ in compound sentences has been described above (1.5).

2.3.8 Ablative.

The suffix /-arn/ describes motion away from or out of, or action directed from a source. In certain cases the ablative case marker is used where a causal might be expected (examples 90 to 92) or where a genitive could be used (but a causal would be in many other Australian languages) (example 93). On the other hand, causal is sometimes used where ablative would be expected (see example 61, GB:65).

86. /nguthaltarn unerri/
north-abl wind
'North wind' (compare GB:49-50, examples 92 and 93.).

87. /ngarrukerti penkarr ilekarn/
man-to.here go.along-pres creek-abl
'He's coming up from the creek.'

[Breen: 70].

88. /kerewa inperniy uriirarn/
child fall-past tree-abl
'The kid fell out of the tree.'

89. (E)/ingerniyarnin imarn/
see-past-I-you(acc) here-abl
'I saw you from here.'

90. /werarl marniipulu kilyalarn munjurteji/
dog-op hit-past-that meat-abl hungry-op(?)
'The dog bit that fellow because he didn't feed it.'

91. /mantiyal kirriiwiarn/
hit-pres-they(pl) woman-du-abl
'They're fighting over those two women.'

92. /jirrewerniipulu irrjartek lelengentharn/
spear-past-that spear-op elder.brother-kin.prop-abl
'He speared that man on account of his brother.'

93. /melerrapel lanngemii nuurrarn kilyalarn/
sick-we(pl,in) find-pot, rotten-abl meat-abl "We might find sickness over
this bad beef." [Breen: 176].

2.3.9 Comitative (material from Appendix 9).

This suffix was overlooked earlier mainly because of its similarity to the masculine form of the locative (compare /ngarrurl/ 'man-loc' and /ngarruul/ 'man-com'). It is fairly common in the Western dialect and there are probably some examples in the Eastern corpus. The form is basically /-wel/; however, since /u/ + /we/ and /e/ + /we/ both become /uu/, /wel/ occurs only after stem-final /a/, /i/ or /ii/. An alternative form /-yuul/ has been heard only on the word /kununthi/ 'mother'; /kunhunthiwel/ [sic] and /kunenthuyuul/ have both been heard.

The comitative marks accompaniment whether in motion or not. Personal pronouns have no comitative; the locative is used. The comitative is used for animals as well as humans.

55. /imi kany kirriiwuluul/

this(non.m) over.there woman-pl-com

"He's down there with a mob of gins".[Breen: 177].

56. /kerewarr ngetharr penka yukuuthuul ilingenthu/

child-non.m my-non.m go-ger other-com husband-com

'My daughter went away with a new husband.'

57. /wenngerrekantipik leketiy kertiji, kerewawel,/

woman-op-she-op-that-op carry-pres coolamon, child-com, /purnengentiy/
carry.under.arm-pres

'The woman is carrying a coolamon with a baby in it.'

58. /japukultawel kilyalewul kunhunthiyuul/

small-pl bird-com mother-com

'There's some chickens with the hen.'

It appears that the comitative, with here a form /-awel/, is affixed to /mart/ 'together' rather than to the company** in the next example

59. /penkerniyu martawel mengkerrithi/
go-past-he together-com(?) wife-kin.prop
'He's gone with his wife.'

Note the use of the locative for a body part but the comitative for its owner in the following example:

60. /lilaperiy, kingkenyu marntekepuluul/
call-that-purp, centipede ankle-loc-that-com
'Sing out to that fellow, there's a centipede on his ankle.' [Breen: 71].

2.4 Miscellaneous problems of noun morphology.

/-pirri/(?) Possibly an inflected form of demonstrative /(-)piy/, at least in some cases. However, the Eastern dialect does not have this demonstrative.

1. (E)/ipimi ngethampirri/
grandmother my-?
'My grandmother'.

2. /winthingap weraperrEi [E stands for plain e]/
who-gen dog-?
'Who does that dog belong to?'

3. /munkiperrau, wenngipiy munki, ilinjiriy, kunthariy/
good-?, woman-that good, food-purp, cook-purp
'That woman's a good cook.'

4. /ngela urriikimerl parniperi/
put make.room-fut road-?
"Give him room, let him come in." /-pa/(E) a formative.

5. /pinalapa/

'noisy' from /pinal/

'ear' /-r/(E) formative or ligative ?.

6. /munkurarn/

/ngupurarn/

good-?-I bad-?-I

'I'm happy.'

'I'm sad.' /-iji/or /-ithi/, used only with /mengkerr/ 'wife'.

7. /kunentiy mengkerriji (or /-ithi//

kiss-pres wife-?

'He kissed [sic] his wife.'

8. /mengkerrijik nguni(?) marniy ilingenthu/

wife-?-op ? hit-past husband

'The woman hit her husband.' [Breen: 72] /-kirr/

compare locative /-kerl/ on pronouns.

9. /ingentiyalinyepulu langkikirr/

see-pres-we(du,in)-acc-that shoulder-?

'He's looking at us over his shoulder.' /-kart/.

10. /muunkawel kerewul, nguninjikart ingenji/

good-pl child-pl, I-? see-impf

'The kids will be good as long as I'm watching them.' /-thu/(E).

11. /kiliyathu inpetiy/

now-? fall-pres

'It's starting to rain.' /-ngku/

masc. /-ngki/

non-masc. (E).

12. /yukuuthungku wurrawarrawul/

other-? mad-pl "All them other dogs, they're all mad.".

13. /yukuuthingkampii ngupungupi/

other-?-she bad

'That other one's ugly.'.

3. PRONOUNS.

3.1 Personal pronouns.

The personal pronoun of Wakaya is inflected according to a Nominative-Accusative pattern except that the third person singular also has an ergative form. There are a full set of bound form pronouns, most, but not all, of which differ from the corresponding free form only in that the initial consonant, if any, of the free form has been dropped, and, of course, in their lack of primary stress. Two bound pronouns may form part of one word; in such cases there seems to be some fluctuation permissible in the word order (examples 1 and 2). The bound pronouns are used much more frequently than the free forms (except perhaps by Mrs Karkadoo). They may be attached to any word, but most commonly to the first word of a clause.

1. /nhengalimpanh marniy?/

what-purp-you-me hit-past

'Why did you hit me?'

2. /nginaparlanhimp ngunterl/

maybe-me-you give-fut "You might be give me it now."

Personal pronoun paradigms are given in the following tables. Examples of the uses of the various case forms are then given.pa [Breen: 74]

PERSONAL PRONOUN PARADIGM: FREE FORMS.SINGULAR.1st.2nd.3rd(masc).3rd(non-masc).Nom. ngurninj imp yuwu yampii Acc. nganh in yuwiny yanipii Erg. (none) (none) yuurl yantepik Gen. ngetha inta yukuwa yangkuwa Purp. ngathing inting yukuperiy yangkuperiy Refl. ngethap intap yupuku yampuk Loc. ngathekerl intekerl yukerl yantepik(?) yukulu All. ngathekert intekert yukert yangkurt yangkupiny Abl. ngathekelarn intekelarn yukulaparn yangkulaparn Caus. ngathekulumarl intekulumarl yukuluparl yangkuluparl yukulumarl DUAL.1 incl.1 excl.2nd.3rd.Nom. ngal ngalii ipul yawul Acc. ngaliny ngaliiny ipiny yawiny.Gen. ngalipa ngaliipa ipulpa yawulpa Purp. ngaling ngaliing ipung yawung Refl. ngalip ngaliip ipup yawup /Rec. Loc. ngalekerl ngaliikerl ipekerl yawukerl All. ngalekert ngaliikert ipekert yawukert Abl. ngalekelarn ngaliikelarn ipekelarn yawukelarn (yawulekelarn) Caus. ngale+ ngalii+ ipe+ yawule+ + kulumarl + kulumarl +

kulumarl + kulumarl ngaleparl yawuleparl [Breen: 75] PLURAL.1 incl.1
 excl.2nd.3rd.Nom. ngampel nganii irr yal Acc. ngampeliny nganiiny irriny yaliny.
 Gen. ngampepa nganiimpa irripa yalipa Purp. ngampeng nganiing irring yaling Refl.
 ngampep ngaliip irrip yalip /Rec. Loc. ngampekerl nganiikerl irrikerl yalikerl
 All. ngampekert nganiinkert irrikert yalikert Abl. ngampekelarn nganiikelarn
 irrikelarn (yalikelarn) Caus. ngampe+ nganiin+ irri+ yali+ + kulumarl + kulumarl
 + kulumarl + kulumarl yaliparl.

Notes:

1. The third person singular masculine forms are usually followed by the demonstrative /pulu/ or an inflected form of it. The third person singular feminine forms are followed by the feminine demonstrative /pii/ except in certain cases where this demonstrative or its appropriate inflected form has been incorporated in the pronoun (i.e. /yampii, yanipi, yantepik, yangkuperiy/) and occasionally otherwise.
2. (crossed out - refers to /parl/ form pronouns only being heard from Mrs Karkadoo).
3. A possible alternative causal form /ngathink/(1st person singular) has been heard from Willy Clegg.
4. Ablative forms /ngathekulunga/ and /intekulunga/ [Breen: 76] (first and second persons singular) have been heard from Mrs Karkadoo. Compare the stem formative /-nga/(2.2.13, GB:48-9).
5. The stem of the first person plural exclusive pronoun is /ngenii/(or /nginii/) in the Eastern dialect.
6. A suffix /-ant/, meaning not known, is sometimes attached to nominative forms of pronouns, and possibly to accusative forms, by Mrs Karkadoo. Forms attested are: /impant, ngalant, ipulant, ngampelant, irrant, yalant/(all nominative), /inant(?)/(accusative) and /inepulant/, possibly a second person dual accusative, translated by the informant as 'you and her now'. The same suffix is used with a few other words, e.g. /martant/(from /mart/) 'together', /peritiyant/ 'long ago'.

PERSONAL PRONOUN PARADIGM: BOUND FORMS.

SINGULAR.Case 1.

3m.3n-m.NOM -arn -u -amp ACC -anh -uwiny -anepiy GEN -ath -angkuwa PURP -athing
-ung -upung REF/REC -athap -up -amp LOC -athekerl ALL -athekert -ukert -angkurt
ABL CAUS -athekulumarl

DUAL.Case.1inc.1exc.3.NOM -al -alii ACC -aliny GEN PURP -awung REF/REC -aliip -
awep LOC ALL -alekert ABL -aliikelarn CAUS -alekulumarl

PLURAL.Case.1inc.1exc.3.NOM -apel -anii -al ACC -apiny GEN PURP -apung REF/REC -
apep -aniip -alep LOC -aniikerl ALL -apekert ABL CAUS -apekulumarl [Breen: 77]

The second person bound forms are, apart from stress, the same as the free forms
(to the extent that they have been attested).

A third person dual reflexive/reciprocal form /-awelep/ has also been heard
(see example 16 below.) Third person singular ergative forms are /-url/(masc.)
and /-antipik/(non-masc.).

3.1.1 Nominative.

Nominative case for pronouns covers all the functions of nominative case for
nouns, except for the object of a transitive verb, and in addition (apart from
third person singular) is used for the subject of a transitive verb.

3. /thukultiimp yuru'ngku/

boomerang-purp-you clever

'Do you know how to make a boomerang?.'

4. /mukuranhawerrarn/

spear-priv-I

'I haven't got a spear.'

5. /penkerlalii urinhathu/

go-fut-we(du,ex) young.brother

'My brother and I are going away.'

6. /nginaparlalii lanngemerl manu nyilenyilu/

maybe-we(du,ex) find-fut fat echidna

'Maybe we'll find a fat porcupine.'

7. /uriikimirr, kerewula, penkartirr!/
make.room-you(pl), child-pl-emph, go-hither-you(pl)

'Give her room, you kids, come here!' [Breen: 77].

3.1.2 Ergative.

The ergative forms of the third person singular pronouns are used for the subject of a transitive verb.

8. /wenngikanh yantepik marniy/
woman-op-me she-op hit-past

'That woman hit me.'

3.1.3 Accusative.

Accusative pronouns are used for the object of a transitive verb.

9. /wakirretiyarn puleriy muunkeriy, ilanhepulu maani work-pres-I that-purp
good-purp, rel-me-that money /nguntetiy/ give-pres

'I work for that good fellow, he gives me money.'

10. /marepulert, wiyalinyepulu लेकरl/
say-that-alla, question-we(du,in)-acc-that take-fut

'Ask him if he'll take us.'

3.1.4 Genitive.

This marks owner (as for nouns) and sometimes beneficiary (example 12). There are no examples in the corpus where genitive case on a pronoun marks cause, as it may on a noun.

11. /yampi irrparath/

that camp-my

'That's my camp.'

12. /layi lerremi ngaleparr, kukumeriy lengenthariy/

make net we(du,in)-gen-non.m, fish-purp get-purp

'Make the net for you and me, to catch fish.' [Breen: 79].

3.1.5 Purposive.

This form of the pronoun marks the (indirect) goal or the beneficiary of an action.

13. /urrementhathing/

look.about-imp**-I-purp

'Have you been looking for me?.'

14. /yukarrathing leng/

water-I-purp get

'Get me some rain?.'

15. /nginaparl yukarr inperl, ilapung(a)/

maybe water fall-fut, rel-we(pl,in)-purp(-emph)

'It might rain for us.'

3.1.6 Reflexive/reciprocal.

Reflexive and reciprocal in Wakaya are marked by means of reflexive/reciprocal pronouns; there is no special affixation to the verb. Thus a reflexive/reciprocal sentence differs from the corresponding transitive sentence in that the appropriate reflexive/reciprocal reflexes any subject and/or object pronoun or forms an extra constituent of the sentence if neither the subject nor the object is represented by a pronoun. An object noun is retained in the sentence if it comprises only part of the subject (example 19).

16. /ngarrewiyarl mantiyawelep parrkwik/
man-du-op hit-pres-they(du)-rec nulla.nulla-op
'The men are fighting with nulla-nullas.'

17. /nhingeltiipep mantiy/
what-purp-you(du)-rec hit-pres
'What are you two fighting for?'. [Breen: 80].

18. /irrweltekathap utakemerniy/
fingernail-op-I-refl hurt-past
'I cut myself with my fingernail.'

19. /miinngathap jiliilewulirri lapik/
eye-I-refl poke-past(?) hand-op
'I poked my eye with my finger.'

3.1.7 Locative.

This form is used for accompaniment (in motion) as well as location (at rest).

20. (E)/nguninj intekerl penkariy/
I you-loc go-purp
'I'm going to go with you.'

21. (E)/yuwerr ngathekerl/
sit me-loc
'Sit down with me.'

3.1.8 Allative.

This denotes the goal or destination of motion or certain other actions, whether of the subject or object of the verb.

22. /penketiy ilapukert, nhingerliy/
go-pres rel-we(pl,in)-alla, what-purp
'He comes here (every day), we don't know why.'

23. /yukumathekert[?] injilt thukukup/
his(?)-I-alla word dead.man-gen "You [tell] me that yarn [of] olden times."
[Breen: 81].

3.1.9 Ablative.

This denotes motion away from, or the source of some thing. For the former function, causal is often used instead.

24. /penk ilaliikelarn/
go rel-we(du,ex)-abl
'Go away from us!'

25. /kurrkuli, lengerniyarn yangkulaparn, wenngirrarn/
cold, get-past-I her-abl, woman-abl
'I caught a cold from her, from that woman.'

3.1.10 Causal.

This marks the cause of or reason for some action or fear.

26. /penkathekulumarl, ilanh maawuleminti/
go-me-caus, rel-me shame-caus-pres
'Go away from me, you're making me shy.'

Despite the fact that demonstratives often follow third person singular pronouns, these pronouns can be used themselves as demonstratives. This is quite clear from the statements of the informant, as well as from such examples as.

27. /ingerniyaliny yangkulaparn/

see-past-we(du,in)-acc she/it-abl

'He's watching us from over there.' [Breen: 82].

3.2 Demonstratives.

Wakaya has two pairs of demonstratives (in addition to the third person singular pronouns). These are /imu/(m), /imi/(non-m) and /pulu/(m), /pii/(non-m). Corresponding bound or clitic forms are /-mu/, /-mi/ and /-pulu/, /-pii/. The latter is translated as 'that', 'over there', while the former may be translated as 'this', 'here' or as 'that' 'over there'. The informant (Western dialect) states that there is no difference between them, and /imu, imi/ does seem to be equivalent to /pulu, pii/ in many cases. However, whenever it is necessary to give an equivalent for English 'this' or 'here', /imu, imi/ is always used.

There are several dual and plural forms of the demonstratives, and in these forms gender distinctions are no longer made. The 'near' form has dual /imewiy/

and plural /imuul/. The 'far' form has dual /pulewiy/ and two other dual forms which do not occur in the Nominative case but only in inflected forms /-piy-/ and /piliy-/. The plurals /puluul/, /pulumanha/ and /pilemanha/ have been heard, the last only once after it had been suggested to the informant. The 'near' dual has a shorter form /imiy-/ occurring only before an inflectional affix. The dual demonstratives, like dual nouns, take /a/ before any inflectional suffix not beginning in /a/. Thus /imiyart/ [Breen: 83] 'to these two' (Allative), /piyapar/ or /piliyapar/ 'because of these two' (Causal).

It appears that there may have been a set of short bound forms of /pulu/, but the only examples that have been found for this are the allative /-purt/ and the purposive /-periy/.

There is a certain amount of variation in the forms of the demonstratives, and it is likely that the paradigm given below could be greatly expanded. The differences in the alternative forms do not seem to reflect any difference in meaning.

The demonstrative paradigm is given below.

Singular.near. MASC NON-MASC NOM imu, imerr imu, imerr OPER imuwerl[?] imik, imika GEN imup imip, imipa PURP imeriy imeriy [?imiri] LOC imul, imula, imulanga imila, imiika, imiikang, imilaka, imerrila COM imuul imiwel ALL imuta imita ABL imarn, imerrarn CAUS imuparl imiparl far MASC NON-MASC NOM pulu, pelarr pii OPER

pulerl piik GEN pulup piip PURP puleriy piri LOC COM puluul ALL pulert piirt
ABL pularn piilarn[?] CAUS puluparl piiparl [Breen: 84]

Dual.near far. NOM imewiy pulewiy OPER piyal, piyawerl, piliyarl GEN piyap
PURP piliyariy LOC COM imiyawel piyawel ALL imiyart piyarriy, piliyarriy, piyart
ABL puluwiyar, piyar, piliyar CAUS piyaparl, piliyaparl

Plural.NOM puluul, pulumanha, pilemanha OPER pulumanharl GEN pulumanhap PURP
puluuliy LOC COM puluuluul, pulumanhawel ALL puluulirt ABL imuularn
pulumanharrarn CAUS imuuleparl The remainder of this section consists of
examples illustrating the use of the demonstratives.[Breen: 85].

1. /kertiji pii/

coolamon that

'That's a coolamon.' (pointing).

2. /munku pelarr mutukariy/

good that car-purp

'He's a good driver.'

3. /inkapu kanyepulu mutupukarr/

kangaroo away-that jump.along-pres

'The kangaroo's hopping along.'

4. /winthingamerr?/

who-this

'Who's that fellow?'

5. /pertiipipii, miikerlarn kenkerlijamerniy/

big-that, in.vain-I lift-past

'I've been trying in vain to lift it, but it's too heavy.'

6. /yuwupulu merremanju thepelek/

he-there plain.goanna grass-loc

'There's the goanna, in the grass.'

7. /marniipulu wennganipii/
hit-past-that woman-her(acc)
'He hit that woman.'

8. /putepumu tuyurumarnu/
baby.boy-this restless
'The baby's restless.'

9. /ngarrukertiy yuwupulu penkarr, penkenyintemiil,/
man-to.here he-that go.along-pres, go-fut-hither-this-loc[?] /imerrila,
nguninj penkerlii/ here-loc, I go-fut-then
'When he gets here, I'll be already gone.'

10. /ngultethanparrekanyemu/
return-along-pres-away-this
'He's going home.'

11. /titarrerlapel meket imiika, ngampiny lanngemerl/
wait-fut-we(pl,in) always here-loc, us(pl,in) find-fut
'We'll stop here until they find us.'

[Breen: 86].

12. /urtiki imila/
mother here-loc
'This is my mother here.'

13. /irraj pulerl thawirretiy/
right that-op tell-pres
'He's telling the truth.'

14. /yukuwa pulup, unparr/
his that-gen, house
'That's his house.'

15. /imup piintekany yuwerra/

this-gen far.away sit-nom

"It belongs to that fellow over there, sitting a long way over."

16. /penk imiyart/

go this-du-alla

'Go over to those two.'

17. /penkernantarn ilawerrarn, imerrila, injilajipearlip/

go-past-hither-I Alexandria-abl, here-loc Injilaji-gen-nom /petiiriy/
country-alla

'I came from Alexandria here to Indjiladji country.'

18. /nhengeltii mareji pulewiy/

what-purp talk-impf that-du

'I don't know what they've been talking about.'

19. /imerramp kirriwuluul yuwerretiy/

this-she woman-pl-com sit-pres

'She's sitting down with all the women.'

20. /tiimerrlarnawung piliyari upuki/

chop-fut-I-they(du)-purp that-du-purp fire(wood)

'I'll chop some wood for those two.'

[Breen: 87].

21. /penkerlarn imuul miipelel pethetiy/

go-fut-I this-com, hole-? dig-pres (possibly /miipii pulerl/ 'hole that-op')

'That fellow over there digging the hole, he's the one I'm going with.'

22. /kuu japukulu imiipa petiirrep,/
boy little this-gen country-gen
"I belonged to this country when I was a boy.'.

23. /yuwerrerlarn imiikang ngetharrek petirrek, pa/
sit-fut-I here-loc my-loc country-loc country-loc, and /kurerlarn imiikang
ngetharrek petiik/ die-fut-I here-loc my-loc country-loc
'I'm going to stay here in my country and I'm going to die here.'.

24. /ingentiipulerl kirriyawiny pulewiy/
see-pres-that-op woman-du-they(du)-acc that-du
'He's watching those two women.'.

25. /ngunerlepelemiika jiritarrek/
lie-fut-we(pl,in)-here-loc claypan-loc
'We're camping on the claypan'.

26. /wenyemantiyarnpuluul/
growl-pres-I-that-pl
'I'm rousing on them.'.

27. /maretiinting yalepuluul/
talk-pres-you-purp they(pl)-that-pl
'Those fellows are talking about you.'.

[Breen: 88].

28. /pethetiyupukupulu/
scratch-pres-he-refl-that
'He's scratching himself.'.

29. /winthirarnemuwi penkernant yawulepulewiy/
where-abl-this-du go-past-hither they(du)-that-du
'Where do those two come from?'

30. /yuwerrerlarn yawukerlpiyawel/
sit-fut-I they(du)-loc-that-du-com
'I'll sit down with those two.'

31. /kijiwulemuul kilyalenhawerru/
three-this-pl meat-priv "Three fellows got no meat."

32. /nhengelewankupuleriy?/
what-assoc-that-purp
'What's wrong with that fellow?'

33. /kerewarlanhemuul kunentiy mimiimengenthu/
child-op-me-this-pl call-pres mother's.father-kin.prop
'These kids call me grandfather.'

34. /penkerlal yawulpapiliyarriy irrparriy/
go-fut-we(du,in) they(du)-gen-that-du-alla camp-alla
'We're going to their (two) camp.'

When a demonstrative follows a pronoun, the inflectional affix can sometimes be omitted from the pronoun, as in

35. /yawulepiyaparl/
they(du)-that-du-caus
'from those two'.

36. /jikuwirretiy yukulupuluparl/
afraid-pres he-that-caus
'frightened of him'.

This may apply only to the causal suffix. Extra material from Appendix 9.

A plural demonstrative /manhawel/, translated as "that lot" and composed of the two plural suffixes /-manha/ and /wel/** has been heard once. [Breen: 89].

3.3 Interrogative.

Wakaya interrogatives include: 'who' /winthinga/(masc.), /winthingarr/(non-masc., i.e. feminine, since this word cannot refer to inanimate objects), 'what' /nhengal, nhengelt/. The former is used in the Eastern dialect and the two forms form a typical masculine and non-masculine pair, so that the latter would be expected in Western Wakaya. However, both are used, apparently interchangeably, in the Western dialect. The Eastern form may be /nhengarl/ 'where, which, what, how' /wiinth(i)/ 'how many' /urtuka-/(both), /rnurtuka-/(Eastern) 'when' /wiinthamin/ 'who' /winthinga/. This is clearly derived from /wiinthi/ 'where' with the 'after' or 'out of' formative /-nga/ /winthinga, winthingarr, nhengal/ and /nhengelt/ are inflected like nouns with the same endings. /nhengelt/ has, in addition to its inflected form, a derived form with the associative formative /-wanku, -wanki/; see example 31, GB:88. /urtuka-/ and /rnurtuka-/ have not been noted as free forms; the following forms (apart from derived verbs) have been heard: /urtukarek, urtukaring, nurtukayi, nurtukawili/. All of these require checking, although the first is fairly well attested. The inflected forms of /wiinth/, as recorded so far, are listed below: [Breen: 90] /wiinth, wiinhti [sic], wiinthirr/ 'where to? what? which? how?' /wintherl/(E), /winthiik/(W) 'where?' /wintharn/(E), /winthirrarn/(W) 'where from?' /winthekert/(E), /winthirriy/(W) 'where to?'.

Some examples illustrating the use of these interrogatives are now given.

1. /winthingarl larniin purnngik/
who-op hit-past-you(acc) stone-op
'Who hit you with the stone?'.

2. /winthingarrek wenngik in ngunterniy?/
who-fem-op woman-op you(acc) give-past
'Which woman gave it to you?'.

3. /winthingartimp marerniy?/

who-alla-you talk-past

'Who were you talking to?'. .

4. /winthingaparliy irrparriy penketiyal?/

who-gen-nom camp-alla go-pres-we(du,in)

'Whose camp are we going to?'. .

5. /wiinthimp marerl pulert?/

what-you say-fut that-alla

'What do you want to tell him?'. .

6. /wiinthe yarremena penkangi?/

where horse go-nom-lig-?

'Which way did the horses go?'. .

7. /wiinthimp nalt muuntiy?/

how-you humpy make-pres

'How do yu build a humpy?'. .

8. /winthiikamp penka?/

where-loc-she go-nom

'Where did she go?' [Breen: 91]. .

9. /wiinthimp ngiipetiy yantepik kupejik?/

what-you make-pres it-op adze-op

'What do you make with the adze?'. .

10. /winthirrimp weriirr tiimerniimp?/

which-you tree chop-past-you

'Which tree did you chop down?'. .

11. /ngarremu winthirrarn penkangirt?/
man-this where-abl go-nom-lig-alla
'Where does that man come from?'

12. /winthirriimp yukarriy penkerl?/
where-alla-you water-alla go-fut
'Which waterhole are you going to?'

13. /utukarrekimp yuwijik miikemerniy?/
how.many-loc-you day-loc make-past
'How long did it take you to make it?'

14. /utukarrekemu ilhangkwik yuwirri?/
how.many-loc-this winter-loc sit-impf
'How many years has he been here?'

15. /wiinthaminal ngultethanpinyint?/
when-they(pl) return-fut-hither
'When are they coming back?'

Several interrogative verbs are derived from the interrogative pronouns; these will be included for convenience in this section. They include: /wiinthem/

'to do what?' (trans. ?) /wiinthanp/

'to do what?' (intr. ?) /nhengelem/

'to do what?' (trans. ?) /nhengelirr/

'to do what?' (intr. ?) /urtukam/ (W) /nurtukam/ (E)

'to do how often?'. [Breen: 92].

16. /winthanpa pulu inting?/
what-go-nom that you-purp
'What's wrong between you and him?'

17. /nhengelirretiimp?/

what-inch-pres-you

'What are you doing?'

18. /nhengelemerniy imp kerewariy?/

what-caus-past you child-purp

'What did you do to the baby?'

19. /urtukamentiy imp penketiy imerrila?/

how.many-caus-pres you go-pres here-loc

'How often do you come here?'

An interrogative adverb /wii/ will be described in 5.7. [Breen: 93].

4. VERBS.

4.1 Verb stem formation.

Verb stems are typically mono-morphemic, but several methods of verb stem formation are used. These can be classified as follows: reduplication (several variants) compounding of stems - either verb and verb, or verb and noun, forming a compound verb, or occasionally a two word phrase prefixing of the morpheme /-ngult/'back' (one example) suffixing of verb stem formatives.

4.1.1 Reduplication.

Simple reduplication of a verb stem is not common, there are only two examples and in one of these cases it is doubtful whether the simple stem exists in the language at present.

1. (E)/larrerlarr/

'to think, to know about, to remember'. From /larr/
'to hear'.

2. /lirirliri/

'to cry' (cf. /liri/
'to mix' - any connection is obscure.).

A more common process is reduplication with interposition of /-l-/ between the two simple stems; this /-l-/ replaces any stem- initial consonant in the second part of the compound stem. This seems, at least in some cases, to denote an extension of the action denoted by the simple stem, in time (examples 3 and perhaps 4) or in space (examples 5 and 6).[Breen: 94].

3. /kunyenthik ingelingentiy kerewa/

mother-op look.after-pres child

'The mother is looking after the baby.' (/ingeling/ 'to look after, to look out, be careful'. From /ing/ 'to see, to look').

4. /kekeleketiyarn pulu/

worry.(about)-pres-I that

'I'm worrying about him.' (Probably should be /puleriy/ 'that-purp'.
/kekelek/ 'to worry (about), to be sad, to be sorry (for)'. From /kek/ 'to
cry'.).

5. /inpelinperniy, yuka kunjarnu/

fall.about-past, water drink-ag

'The drunk was falling about all over the place.' (/inpelinp/ 'to fall about
all over the place, to stumble'. From /inp/ to fall'; /yuka/ here means
'alcoholic drink'.).

Other words derived in this way are:

6. /irrkeliirrk/

'to crawl'. From /irrk/

'to climb'.

7. /thukeluk/

'to kill'. From /thuk/

'to throw'.

There are three examples of use of an interposed /-w-/, similar to the use of
/-l/ in the above examples. In example 9, the /-w-/ could be regarded as being
inserted by a morphophonemic rule.

8. (E)/kirrewirr/

'to stand around' (?). From /kirr/

'to stand'.

9. /ulewul/

'to drag'. From /ul/

'to pull'.

10. /thuulangarn penkuunketiy/

just-lig-I walk.about-pres

'I'm just walking about.' [Breen: 95] (/penkuunk/ 'to walk about, to walk around'. From /penk/ 'to go, to walk'; [w] --> /uu/.) There is one example of a stem apparently derived by reduplication of a simple stem (not attested as such) with affixation of a suffix which is not known otherwise as a stem formative:

11. /kutupakutupayi/

'to blink, to wink'.

Partial reduplication seems to denote an extension or intensification of an action; however, there are very few examples and in at least one case (example 12) this may not be the case. The reduplication possibly follows the rule: / (C1) V1 C2 --> (C1) V1 C2 V1 C2 / / (C1) V1 C2 V2 C3 --> (C1) V1 C2 V2 C2 V2 C3 i.e. a syllable of the form VC2, where C2 is the consonant following the first vowel of the stem and V is the stressed vowel (which may precede or follow C2 in the stem) is inserted immediately before the stressed vowel. The stress is thus moved one syllable to the right.

12. /miinngathap jililewulerniy/

eye-I-refl poke-past

'I poked myself in the eye.' (The unreduplicated verb stem is /jilewul/ 'to poke'.).

13. /urrurrema!/

'Keep on looking!' (From /urrema/

'to look about'; usually used with purposive object in the sense 'to look for'.).[Breen: 96].

14. /ngineparl leperlepimi ngetharr, werarl utata'keminjiy/

maybe possessions-this my-non.m, dog-op smash.up-impf

'The dog must have torn up my things.'.

Some verbs consist of a reduplicated form, often an adjective which normally occurs in this form, combined with the causative formative /-m/ or the inchoative formative /-irr/ (see 4.1.4). Examples include:

15. /ngupungupum/

'to spoil, to make a mistake'. From /ngupungupu/
'bad'.

16. /munkumunkum/ (also /munkum/)

'to make'. From /muunku/
'good'.

17. /jinngējinnḡem/ (also /jinngem/)

'to sharpen'. From /jinngi/
'sharp'.

18. /kertekertem/

'to dry'. From /kertekert/
'dry'.

19. /unuwunum, ngunungunum/

'to forget, to lose'.

20. /unuwunirr/

'to forget, to get lost'.

21. /nharranharram/

'to make quickly'.

22. /kulpukulpirr/ (also /ngurru kulpirr/

- see example 27.) 'to sulk'. From /kulpirr/
'to swell'.

23. /ingethingethirr/

'to touch'. [Breen: 97].

4.1.2. Compounding of stems.

This method of word formation is not common in Wakaya. One word which happens to be compounded of two verb stems and has been attested only for the Eastern dialect is exemplified in: 24. (E)/pujekanguntetiy kirirruwiny/ run-give-pres woman-he-acc 'He's running away with a woman.' (/pujek/ 'to run', /ngunt/ 'to give'.).

However, the /a/ which separates the two verb roots is probably the general formative, i.e. a nominative, so that in fact we have a noun+verb compound. Other compounds containing /ngunt/ 'to give' are: 25. (E)/tharengunt/ 'to blow' (/thar/ 'mouth').

26. /ngurrungunt/

'to drown' (/ngurru/ 'nose').

Other compounds involving bodyparts are:

27. /ngurru pulu kulpirra/

nose that swell-nom

'He was sulky.'.

28. /utelt ngiyaw/

'to be pleased.' (/utelt/

'stomach', /ngiyaw/ not known otherwise.).

29. /utelt nguparr/

'to not like.' (/nguparr/

'to become bad'. From /ngupungupu, ngupungupi/ 'bad'.).

In two word compounds such as these the order of the constituents is not fixed and another word may intervene (example 27).[Breen: 98] A few compounds

may be interpreted as noun + /-kirr/ (cf. /kirr/ 'to stand'), or, alternatively, may be composed of noun + /-k/ (operative/locative) + /-irr/ (inchoative), e.g.

30. /mulerrekirr/

'to be sick, to pain'. From /mulerr/
'sickness'.

31. /melinjikirr/

'to be jealous'. From /melinji/
'jealous'.

Another example of a two word compound is.

32. /melinji ngela/

'to be jealous' (/ngela/
'to put').

4.1.3 The prefix /ngult-/.

The prefix /ngult-/, a bound form of the adverb /ngulteth/ 'back, (t)o home', occurs in a single derived verb in the corpus. This is:

33. /ngulting/

'to look back'. From /ing/
'to look'.

Verb stems may also be formed by adding a stem formative to /ngulteth/ (see next section).

4.1.4 Verb stem formatives.

The two most common verb stem formatives are the causative /-m, -am, -anhem/, and the inchoative /-irr, -arr, -i/. The former converts a nominal or an intransitive verb into a transitive verb. When added to a nominal, it has the

meaning 'to make someone or something have the quality or be the thing [Breen: 99] denoted by the nominal stem', while when added to an intransitive verb it means 'to cause someone or something to perform the action denoted by the intransitive verb stem.' Some examples of the causative have already been given (examples 15-19 above, GB:96).

34. /putepu pulu lirirlirimerniy/

baby that cry-caus-past

'(You) made the baby cry.'

35. (E)/yukarl yukup yukayukamentiy, miingku/

water-op he-refl water-water-caus-pres, dirt

'He's washing himself.' (/yukayuka/, the reduplicated form of /yuka/

'water', here means 'wet'; /miingku/

could mean

'dirty' here, although this would normally be /mi(i)ngku-mi(i)ngku/).

36. (E)/kinkerlijamerniy lapurl, thuulangarn/

top-caus-past hand-op, just-lig-I /kinkerlijamerniyathap/ top-caus-past-I-refl "I put my hand on something and just lifted myself up." (The use of /-arn/ 'I' as well as /athap/

'I-myself' in the second clause is most unusual and probably unintentional.).

37. (E)/milyikamenthariy kilyal/

salt-caus-purp meat

'to salt the meat.'

'Number of times' is expressed by a causative verb which in these cases is not necessarily transitive e.g.[Breen: 100].

38. /yukunngam/

'to do something once' (/yukunngu/

'one').

39. /kijiyam/

'to do something twice' (kijiiwi/
'two').

40. /penketiyarn imerriy, ngininyangel, ukiyamentiy/

go-pres-I here-alla, this.way, many-caus-pres
'I come here often.'

The form of the causative formative is normally /-m/. /-am/ is rare (disregarding those cases where the stem to which it is added ends in /a/, and so there is no contrast possible between /-m/ and /-am/) and the conditioning factors, if any, are not known. It occurs in examples 36 and 38 above. The only occurrence so far noted of /-anhem/ is in a sentence by Mrs Karkadoo recorded by Blake.

41. /nganh inpanhemerniy/

me fall-caus-past
'He made me fall over.'

The informant may have adapted a sentence from her first language, Bularnu, here; the corresponding Bularnu sentence would be: 41(a). [yiwa] nganha yipanhamarna/ [he].

Other causative verbs in the corpus include:

42. /uriikim/

'to cast a shadow on', also
'to make room'. From /uriiki/
'shade, shadow'.

43. /yuru'ngkum/

'to show, to teach'. From /yuru'ngku/
'clever, knowing'. [Breen: 101].

44. /mawerrem/

'to shame, to embarrass'. From /mawerr/

'to be ashamed, to be shy'.

45. (E)/wankum/

'to have a baby'. From /wanku/

'alive'. (The Western dialect has /unkum/
but /wanku/.).

46. /thurtarrem/

'to lengthen'. From /thurtangu/

'long'.

There are no other examples of the irregularity illustrated in example 46. The /-arr/ might be an inchoative formative. The regular form /thurtangem/ also exists.

The inchoative formative carries the denotation 'to become'. It appears that the form /-arr/ is used with noun (including adjective) stems, although there are some counter examples, while /-irr/ is used mainly in combination with stems that do not have free forms; more information on this point would be very useful. The allomorph /-i/ is attested in only one case.

47. /irtipirniy/

'become hard'. From /irtipu/

'hard'.

Other examples of the stative follow. See also 20, 22, 23, 27, 29 and compare examples 30 and 31.

48. (E)penkariyari nguperrariy, minhalirretiyarn/

go-purp-I bathe-purp, fire-inch-pres-I

'I want to go and bogey, I feel hot.'.

49. (E)/ningarlirretiingepulu, kil pulerl larretiy/
what-inch-pres-now-that, not that-op hear-pres

'What's wrong with him, he won't listen to me?'. [Breen: 102] In the following example both an inchoative and a causative suffix have been used in the same verb.

50. /marniyanhepulu piilirremerniy/
hit-past-me-that blood-inch-caus-past
'He hit me and made me bleed.'.

There are a number of pairs of corresponding verbs, one member transitive and containing the causative suffix and the other intransitive and inchoative. In many cases the root to which these formatives are added is not known as a free form. Some pairs are listed below.

51. /luwam, luwarr/
'to split, to crack'.

52. /utakem, utakirr/
'to break'.

53. /inanthem, inanthirr/
'to wake up'.

54. (E)/ijekem, ijekirr/
'to wake up' (the former also
'to lift', the latter
'to get up'.).

55. /jikurum/
'to frighten' /jikurirr/
'to be afraid'.

Two verbs which are derived from (semantically) agent nouns by means of the inchoative formative are: 56. /uthulirr/ 'to tell a lie'. From /uthul/ 'liar'.

57. /munukarr/

'to steal'. From /munuku/

'thief'.

The latter is particularly interesting in that, unlike all other inchoative verbs, it is transitive; another interesting feature is that [Breen: 103] it can be nominalised to form an agent noun /munukarrarnu/ with the same meaning as the root /munuku/. (The noun /uthulirrarnu/ has not been elicited but is accepted, possibly with some reluctance, by the informant.).

The suffix /-anp/, added to a directional adverb or adverb of place, derives a verb of going. Examples are: 58. /ngultethanp/ 'to return'. From /ngulteth/ 'back'.

59. /kinajanp/

'to swoop down'. From /kinaj/

'down'.

Another possible noun formative is /-p/, in 60. /ngunp/

'to be tired, to be sleepy'. From /ngun/

'to lie, to sleep'.

However, the similarity between these words may be coincidental. /ngunp/ may combine with the stative formative to give.

61. /ngunparr/

'to become sleepy'.

4.2 Verb Inflection.

4.2.1 Imperative.

Imperative mood is generally marked by a zero suffix on the verb stem. The only exceptions are monosyllabic verb stems of the form Ca, which take the suffix /-y/ (/ma/ 'to hit', /la/ 'to hit by throwing'). An emphatic suffix /-a/, /-ii/ or /iya/ is frequently affixed to the verb.

The imperative is used for command, negative command (with a negative adverb) and sometimes for advice or suggestion (example 7).

1. /kiim/

'Let (it) go!'.

2. /kirra, kirrii/

'Stand up!'.

3. /tungarr, jap mar/

kee quiet, don't talk "Don't yabber you shut up.".

4. /utakem mar/

break-caus talk

'Keep on talking!' (This is an idiomatic use of /utakem/. See also example 5.).

5. (E)/minya utakem/

hold-emph break-caus

'Hold it tight!'.

6. /ngumenngik ngultethanpart/

evening-loc return-to.here

'You come back this evening.'.

7. (E)/yuwerra, jirritiimp/

sit-emph, sick-pres-you

'You'd better stop here if you're sick.' [Breen: 105].

4.2.2. Negative imperative.

This suffix, /-anhi/, is not common in Western Wakaya and not attested at all for the Eastern dialect. It seems to be an optional alternative to other methods of negating the imperative, thus.

8. /lanhi bulu/

and /jap pulu lay/

hit-neg that don't that hit.

seem to have the same meaning,

'Don't hit him!' Other examples are.

9. /theremanhi yuwerr/

'Don't you play, sit down!' play-neg sit.

10. /kujerranhi/

'Don't laugh (at him)!'. .

11. /maranhiwerru, tungarr/(or /maranhawerru ?/

talk-neg-prop(?) keep.quiet talk-priv

'Don't keep on talking all day.'.

There are no other examples. The last, with, apparently, the proprietive noun-stem-forming suffix following the negative marker, is particularly interesting.

4.2.3 Optative.

The optative mood is marked by the suffix /-arl/. It is used to express permission or hope.

12. /wetharlepulu, munjurtepulu/
eat-opt-that, hungry-that
'Let him eat it, he's hungry.'

[Breen: 106].

13. /penkarlepulewiy wintemulalekulumarl/
go-opt-that-du altogether-we(du,in)-caus
'I hope those two keep on walking away from us.'

14. (E)/ngarrithu nhengal, nguparritiyarn/
man-alt get-opt, bad-inch-pres-I
'Let him get another man (to work for him), I'm tired.'

4.2.4 Potential.

Potential mood, used for an action or event that might or could take place, or would take place in certain circumstances, is marked by the suffix /-ii/ (or /-yi/ after stem-final /a/). Where a vowel-initial suffix follows, the ligative /-ng/ intervenes.

15. /werarlanh wethii/
'The dog might bite me.' dog-op-me eat-pot.

16. (E)/kingkenyu yuwu pulu ngupungupu, tirripiingin/
centipede he that bad, bite-pot-lig-you(acc)
'That centipede's dangerous, he'll bite you.'

17. (E)/unu petiipu, weriirru utakemii/
wind big, tree break-pot
'It's a strong wind, it might blow the tree down.'

18. (E)/ilin mayi, penkart ngathekert, nguninjing manthariy/
rel-you(acc) hit-pot, go-hither I-alla I-then hit-purp
'If he hits you, come (and tell) me and I'll hit him then.'.

[Breen: 107] In many cases where the potential mood might be expected the potential adverb /nginapar1/

'maybe' together with the future tense form of the verb is used.

4.2.5 Past Tense.

Past tense is marked by the suffix /-rniy/. It denotes an action that has been completed or a state that has been attained.

19. (E)/winthi imp marerniy/
'What did you say?' what you say-past.

20. (E)/ngetha purtuku utakemerniy/
my leg break-past
'My leg is broken.'.

21. (E)/kurrerniy pulu, ngintuwerniy miingkert/
die-past that, bury-past ground-alla
'He died and they buried him.'.

22. (E)/kurrkumerniy ngurninj, kilarn pulu minyerniy,/
hold-past I, not-I that hold-past, /thukerniyanh/
throw-past-me
'I tried to hold him but he threw me.'.

23. /penkernantarn, ngunerniy yimu/
go-past-hither-I, sleep-past this
'He was asleep when I came here.' [Breen: 108].

4.2.6 Imperfect.

This name is being used at present for what may prove to be two separate morphemes; however, no consistent difference can be found in the meaning or use of the two forms, so it is concluded for the present that they are alternative forms of the same morpheme. Each of the forms consists of several allomorphs which are phonologically conditioned. The conditioning factors are not fully established and will be discussed in 4.4. They will simply be listed here: /-iy, -thiy, -nthiy, -jiy/ (which comprise one form) and /-nth/ and /-j/ (corresponding to the last two allomorphs of the first form and comprising the second form).

No second form allomorphs corresponding to /-iy/ and /-thiy/ have been heard.

The imperfect is used for a continuing action in the past, which may or may not have been continued right up to the present, for a habitual or often repeated action in the past, and also in some cases for a past action where the past tense would seem to be more appropriate (compare examples 30 and 21). Compare examples 23 and 24; in the former the past tense is used where the imperfect tense seems more appropriate. Note also example 33 below, where there is fluctuation between imperfect and past tense. [Breen: 109].

24. /marnngwarn nguninthiy, irlinting/

dream-I sleep-impf, rel-you-purp

'I was dreaming about you.'

25. /naltarn muwinth wilyirrkik/

humpy-I make-past bush-op

'I made a humpy out of bushes.'

26. /iningkijiyarn puleriy pukarreriy injilt larrejariy/

listen-impf-I that-purp old.man-purp word hear-purp

'I've been listening to the old man telling a story.'

27. /urremantharninting/

'I've been looking for you.' look.about-impf-I-you-purp.

28. /mintiik pulewiy marejiy/
long.time that-du talk-impf
'Those two have been talking for a long time.'

29. /yuwerriyarn yantipik, pirijik/
sit-impf-I it-loc, before-loc
'I used to live there, years ago.'

30. /kurrijiy, kurrkuliwerru/
'He died of the flu.' die-impf, phlegm-prop.

31. /kilemantharn inparliy/
think.wrongly-impf-I fall-irr
'I thought I was going to fall.'

32. /unparr walewenth upukik ukuthup/
house burn-impf fire-op father-gen
'My father's house got burnt.' Extra material from Appendix 9.

There are several examples in the 1974 material of the imperfect tense of the verb being used where a purposive would be expected. Mr Clegg has been questioned about this and says that it is an acceptable alternative; however, on a later occasion he would not accept some sentences of this type produced by me. The following are examples:

61. /penkertirr imiila ilijirriy ngampelkal marejiy
go-hither-you(pl) here-loc light-alla we(pl,in)-? talk-impf
'Come over here into the light and we'll have a talk.'

62. /mangarlangart penk, lengenthiyina ilinjii (ilinjiriy?/
white-man-alla go, get-impf-? tucker (-purp?)
'Go and get some tucker from the white man.'

63. /penkerlarn unparriy ngurninj matha ingenthiy/

go-fut-I house-alla I boss see-impf

'I'm going up to the station and I want to see the boss.'

64. /therremarnu, kal ilimp tungarrerl, penkiy imerlen,/

play-ag, not rel-you be.quiet-fut, go-impf here-abl, /ngulteth/

back

'If you don't shut up we'll go home.' [Breen: 110].

4.2.7 Gerund.

The verb form marked by the suffix /-a/, /-tha/, /-ntha/, /-ja/ is referred to as gerund because it functions as a nominalised form of the verb to which certain noun inflections may be added to form purposive or subordinate verb forms. These functions have been discussed above (1.5) and will be further discussed below (4.2.12 and 4.2.13) and the use of the gerund formative to derive a noun stem (as opposed to a nominalised verb which behaves only in a restricted way as a noun stem) has been discussed in 2.2.16. In this section only the verbal use of the gerund will be considered; it functions as a past tense form of the verb which seems to be indistinguishable with the normal past tense in /-rniy/ (4.2.5). This use of the gerund is found only in Western Wakaya and is illustrated below. Examples are found only with verbs of the first conjugation, for which the gerund allomorph is /-a/.

When a bound pronoun is added to the gerund the ligative /-ng-/ is interposed; thus /penkangarn/, not */penkarn/ 'I went'.

33. /lengerniyarn japukult inkapi, yatirtarn ngelanthiy/

get-past-I little-non.m kangaroo-non.m yard-all- put-imp /ngelarniyarn yatirt,
unerrik thuka yat,/ put-past-I yard-alla, wind-op throw-ger yard,
/unuwunuminthinginga**/ lose-impf-then

'I caught a grey and put her in a yard, but the wind blew the yard down and I lost her.'

[Breen: 111].

34. /yuka inpa merrperrik/
water fall-ger night-loc
'It rained during the night.'

35. /nguntangarnepulu urtaji/
give-ger-lig-I-that wild.orange
'I gave him some fruit.'

36. /pulerl thurrukumerniy upuki, welimurl kunja yukarr/
that-op light-past fire, right-he-op drink-ger water
'After he lit the fire he had a drink.'

37. /ngurungkarn penka, unuwunuminthingan yukarr/
camping-I go-ger, forget-impf-then-I water
'I went camping out but I forgot (to take) water.'

There are a couple of examples from Didgeroo Jack in which the gerund (the third conjugation form /-ntha/) has a verbal use but does not denote past tense.

38. /mantha in pertiipu wiyimp jikurirretiy/
hit-ger you(acc) big question-you afraid-pres /penkart ngathekert/ go-hither
I-alla.

The meaning of this sentence, which was not recorded on tape, is not clear; it was given as a translation of 'If he hits you, you tell me'.

39. /jina intap tiinii, ingelingentha intap/
foot you-refl chop-pot, watch-ger you-refl
'Watch you don't cut your foot.' Extra material from Appendix 9.

Further examples of gerund + ligative -ng- + i are: 65. /werararn jikumerniy (pa ?) wentithanpangi ngathing,/ dog-lig-I frighten-past and turn-ger-lig-conseq I-purp, /pa nganh yuul wetha marnt/ and me he-op bite-ger ankle.

'I frightened the dog and he turned on me and bit me on the ankle.'

66. /ulamperirniyarn penkangi/
be.tired-past-I walk-ger-lig-conseq
'I'm tired from walking.'

67. /injiltarn thawirrijiy, yuwu kujerrangi pulu/
word-I tell-impf, he laugh-ger-lig-conseq that
'I told him a story and made him laugh.' [Breen: 112].

4.2.8 Present tense.

The present tense is marked by the suffix /-tiy, ntiy/(or /-rtiy, -rntiy/, or there may be fluctuation; I have used only the alveolars in this grammar). /-ntiy/ is used with verbs of the third conjugation and /-tiy/ with all others. It marks habitual action as well as action taking place at the time of speaking.

40. /nhingelirretiimp/
'What are you doing?' what-inch-pres-you.

41. (E)/kilin larretiy/
'He can't hear you.' not-you(acc) hear-pres.

42. (E)/kerewulij purnngu thuketiy/
child-pl-op stone throw-pres
'Those kids are throwing stones.'

43. (E)/jirretiyarn/
'I'm sick.' sick-pres-I.

44. (E)/ngurninj maretiy wakayarl/
I talk-pres Wakaya-op/loc
'I talk Wakaya.'

45. /inkapupulu kal pujuketiy, mutupuketiipulu/

kangaroo-that not run-pres, jump-pres-that

'Kangaroos don't run, they hop.'

It may also mark action in the immediate or near future, as in 46.
(E)/ngurninj penketiy jilanherrart/ I go-pres Camooweal-alla

'I'm going to Camooweal.' [Breen: 113].

4.2.9 Andative present.

The suffix /-arr, el, -tharr/ or /-thal, -nthall, -jal/(i.e. gerund plus /-r/ or /-l/) denotes action being carried out in the present time (?) while the agent is in motion or travelling, and seems to be translated 'along'. It is rarely used in the Eastern dialect; there are only two examples, both involving /penkarr/ 'going along', one given by each informant. Most examples of this morpheme are with verbs of motion; in fact, the only examples where the verb involved is not basically a verb of motion were only elicited with the help of a certain amount of suggestion from the linguist (examples 50 and 51).

47. /ngarrukertiy penkarr ilekarn/

man-to.here go-along.pres creek-abl

'He's coming up from the creek.'

48. /inkapu kany pulu mutupukarr/

kangaroo away that jump-along.pres [sic].

49. /uriikanepii irrkejal/(?) shade-that crawl-along.pres

'He's crawling over to the shade.'

50. /pakepakik yuwerrarrekanypulu/

buggy-loc sit-along.pres-away-that

'He's going along in a buggy.'

51. /marejalekany pulewiy/

talk-along.pres-away that-du

'Those two fellows were (?) walking along talking.'

[Breen: 114] One case in which an affix of the same form as the andative is used without its usual meaning, and which is probably idiomatic, is exemplified by.

52. /welim linmerrijal/

right look.good-along.pres "It looked good."

4.2.10 Future.

The future tense is made by the suffix /-rl/. Thus for a verb with stem-final /-a/, future is indistinguishable in form from optative (4.2.3). This form of the verb is rarely used in the Eastern dialect, the purposive normally being used instead. The combination of future tense with the adverb /nginaparl/ 'maybe' appears to have a similar function to the potential form of the verb.

53. /lilarlarnperiy/

'I'm going to call out to him.' call-fut-I-that-purp.

54. /ilimp munkarrerl, welimimp ngutiimerl/

rel-you good-inch-fut, right-you go.home-fut

'When you're better you can go home again.'

55. (E)/nginaparl yuka inperl, nginaparl murrpunga/

maybe water fall-fut, maybe tomorrow

"The rain might fall down, it might fall tomorrow."

56. /yuwerrerlarn, mernterlarn ilinji/

sit-fut-I, eat-fut-I tucker

'I'm going to sit down and have a feed.' [Breen: 115].

4.2.11 Irrealis.

The irrealis is marked by the suffix /-arliy/ in the Western dialect and /-murliy/ in the Eastern dialect; however, there seem to be a couple of examples of /-arliy/ in Eastern Wakaya and there may be two affixes involved in this dialect with some differences in function (see example 63).

Both /-arliy/ and /-murliy/ are used to refer to an action that could have taken place but did not, an action that nearly took place, or the action in a past conditional clause. In a few cases /-murliy/ seems to be equivalent to the potential. These examples are on the tape recorded by Blake. [1] Note that this tape was transcribed by me. The conditional may also be used in a question (example 61); its use may depend on the answer expected.

57. /wetharliyarn, werarlanh penterniy/

eat-irr-I, dog-op-me take-past

'Just when I was going to eat my meat, the dog took it.' (Note that /weth-/ means 'to eat' when the object is meat.).

58. /kilemantharn wetharliy/

think.wrongly-impf-I eat-irr

'I thought (he) was going to bite me.'.

[Breen: 116].

59. /mararliimp ngathekert, ngurninjin nguntarliy/

talk-irr-you I-alla, I-you(acc) give-irr /mani, imbathing lengarliy
ngenngernt/ money, you-I-purp get-irr tucker

'You should have told me you were going (to town); I would have given you money to get my tucker.'.

60. /penkarrekanyiipulu ngungku jina pulu (?) kinyarliy/

go-along.pres-away-?-that snake foot that (?) stand.on-irr

'He nearly trod on a snake.'.

61. (E)/wiyemuul maremurliy injal uka/
question-this-pl(?) talk-irr word Wakaya
'Can anyone here speak Wakaya?'.

62. (E)/penkemurliimp nhingelirrerniy imp/
go-irr-you what-inch-past you
'Why didn't you go?'.

63. (E)/ilarn lekemurliy ngetha wera, merliyarn ngetharl/
rel-I take-irr my dog, kill-irr-I my-op /werarl kenanthuwiny/
dog-op emu-he-acc "If I took my dog I'd have caught that emu then."

64. (E)/utakemurliyathap (utakememurliyathap ?)/
break-irr-I-refl
'I nearly cut myself.'.

65. (E)/ngunngitherlimp penkemurliy, ingenthariy inta nant/
day-alt-loc-you go-irr, see-purp your elder.sister
'If you had come here yesterday you would have seen your sister.'.

[Breen: 117].

66. (E)/ngurninj mamurliy wera/
I hit-pot dog
'I might hit the dog.' (Blake tape).

4.2.12 Purposive.

The purposive suffix is identical with the nominal purposive suffix - /-riy/, and is added to the gerund. The forms of the combined suffix are therefore /-ariy, -thariy, -nthariy, -jariy/. The Western dialect uses this form of the verb to describe the purpose of an action, object or state (such as knowledge). The Eastern dialect uses it also in many cases where the Western informant would use

the future tense. In a subordinate clause the object of a transitive purposive verb is in the purposive case.

67. /kilyipilimerlarn, kujerrariy/
tickle-fut-I, laugh-purp
'I'll tickle him and make him laugh.'.

68. /penkart marejariy ngathekert/
go-hither talk-purp I-alla
'Come and talk to me.'.

69. /wenyimpi punumenthariy/
seed grind-purp
'(That stone) is for grinding up the seeds.'.

70. (E)/mangarlanga penkernant, intang, nginaparl wakirrijariy/
white.man go-past-hither, you-purp, maybe work-purp
"A man came up here looking for you. He might want to give you a job.".[Breen:
118].

71. /wenngipii munki, ilinjiriy, kuunthariy/
woman-that good-(non.m) tucker-purp, cook-purp
'That woman's a good cook.'.

72. /thukeltimp yuru'ngku miikementhariy/(or /thukeltiimp/
boomerang-you clever make-purp boomerang-purp-you?)
'Do you know how to make a boomerang?'.
'

73. /munku pulu kilyaliy manthariy munku, ngaling/
good that meat-purp kill-purp good, we(du,in)-purp "He's good man, kill beef
for you and I.".

74. (E)/ngurninj penkariy yukariy nhengenthariy/

I go-purp water-purp, get-purp

'I'm going to go down to get water.'

75. (E)/nalert penkart, yukaparl, puyu ngal yuwerrariy/

humpy-alla go-hither, water-caus, dry we(du,in) sit-purp

'Come into the humpy before it rains.' "We'll sit down dry."

76. (E)/nginaparl, yuka inpariy/

maybe, water fall-purp

'It's going to rain.'

4.2.13 Simultaneous action and consequence.

When a nominal inflectional suffix other than the purposive is added to the gerund, the ligative /-ng-/ is interposed. Simultaneous action is marked by a nominalised verb in the subordinate clause carrying the operative/locative suffix if the subjects of the two verbs are the same or the allative affix if they are different. These constructions have been described and illustrated above (GB:22, 23 and 27). These constructions, or at least the one with the operative/locative, can also be used where one action or state is a consequence of the other, e.g. example 88 (GB:22). However, some other examples of this type use a suffix /-i/, otherwise unidentified, on the nominalised verb. This suffix has also been noted where the allative would be expected (GB:23, example 92), and where a zero suffix (and no ligative) would be expected (GB:23, example 95 and example 79 below). Examples 77 and 78 below show sentences in which /-i/ may mark consequence.

77. /nguparretiyarn pujukangi/

bad-inch-pres-I run-nom-lig-?

'I'm tired from running.'

78. /thukelt pulumerniy, yukuuthu muunt pujukangi/

boomerang pick.up-past, other poor.fellow run-nom-lig-?

'When he picked up the boomerang the other fellow ran away.'

Note, however, that /-i/ is attached to the reason verb in 77 and the consequence verb in 78.

79. /muukel ngarru penka, nhengeltiy imp ularinga yuwerrangi/

all man go-nom, what-purp you alone sit-nom-lig-? "The men have all gone; why are you sitting here on your own?" [Breen: 120].

4.2.14 Privative.

There are a few examples of combination of the privative suffix (see 2.2.6, GB:42) with a verb stem.

80. (E)/marenhawerru/

'He couldn't talk.' talk-priv.

81. (E)/urruwarru, larrinhawerru/

mad, hear-priv "He's mad, he can't take notice of what I tell him."

82. /urrentamanhawerru/

'[That dog] never barks.' bark-priv Extra material from Appendix 9.

A few examples have been obtained of addition of the privative suffix to the gerund or to a stem formed by adding /-a/ to the verb stem (which, for first conjugation verbs, is the same as the gerund), or to the verb stem if it ends in /a/. However, I had to enquire specially to get these forms; they do not seem to be part of the informants' normal speech.[Breen: 180].

68. /kunjanhawerru/

"He never had a drink." drink-ger-priv.

69. /manthanhawerru/

or /manhawerru//pulu/

hit-ger-priv hit-priv that

'He never hit anyone.'

70. /munukajanhawerru/

or /munukanhawerru/

'never stole' steal-ger-priv steal-priv.

71. /kekethanhawerru/

or /kekanhawerru/

'never cries' cry-ger-priv cry-priv [Breen: 120].

4.2.15 'After'.

The suffix /-nga/ 'after, out of', described on GB:48 (2.2.13) is used occasionally with nominalised verbs.

83. /ngunngunga, nguninthanga, inanthij, welim penkangi/

sleep-after, lie-nom-after, get.up-impf, right go-nom-lig-?

'After he had a sleep he walked on.'

84. /kilyalanga wethanga/

meat-after eat-nom-after ".after he had a feed of beef."

This suffix, like the privative and the agent (see next section), is a noun stem formative and perhaps should not be listed under the heading of Verb inflections. [Breen: 121].

4.2.16 Agent.

The suffix /-arnu/ (masc.), /-arnt/ (non-masc.), added to a verb stem to form an agent noun, has been described above (2.2.15, GB:50).

4.2.17 Complement.

This rather doubtful suffix [deleted: which may be simply a mishearing of gerund plus ligative plus some other affix (allative would be expected)], occurs

only in transcriptions of recordings of Mrs Karkadoo; these require further checking.

85. (E)/ingenthiy kerewa therremen/
see-impf child play-compl.
'(I) was watching the kids playing.'

and one or two similar examples. [Breen: 180].

4.2.18 Gerund + /-rl/(material from Appendix 9).

This seems to be an alternative to the expression with gerund + ligative -ng- + /-r/(see 1.5).

72. /kirrijarl ingenthingarn parni/
stand-ger-op/loc see-impf-then-I road
'Standing up I could see the road.' [Breen: 180].

4.2.19 Gerund + /r-/ + /-rl/(material from Appendix 9).

The function of this construction is not known.

73. /manthingapiyarl, ilupulu, inta/
hit-impf-then-?that-du-op, rel-he-that, your /thunungkerl, manth pertiipu,
manth pujukarirl/ young.brother-op, hit-impf big, hit-impf run-ger-?-?
'Your young brother hit that big fellow and' "he's this way now, running." [Breen: 181] Other sentences, such as the following, were given by the informant with prompting.

74. /marniyarn pulu keketharirl/
hit-past-I that cry-ger-?-?
'I hit him and made him cry.'

75. /marniyarnepulu ngulinhurt thawintharirl/

hit-past-I-that father-alla tell-ger-?-?

'I hit him and he told his father.' [Breen: 181].

4.2.20 Gerund + /-mirr/ + /-rl/(material from Appendix 9).

There is only one example. The informant accepts other sentences of the same form. Compare the noun stem formative /- mirru/(2.2.19, GB:171).

76. /wapaaparrarn ralementiy penkamirrerl/

clothes-I roll-pres go-ger-?-?

'I'm rolling up my swag to go home.'

The informant translated /penkamirrerl/ as "to go away".[Breen: 181].

4.2.21 Agent (+ causal) (material from Appendix 9).

Some unexplained uses of what seems to be the non-masculine agent form of the verb (see 2.2.15, GB:50) have been noted in a couple of examples 77. /pujuujukarnt pulu, kalepulu wakirl kiliy,/ run.about-ag(non.m) that, not-that work-fut today, /pujuujukarnt, wakirrarnteparl;/ run.about-ag(non.m), work-ag(non.m)-caus; /pujuujekurtiipulu wekirrarnt/ run.about-pres-that work-ag(non.m) 'He can't work today, too much running about.'

The informant gave the translations [Breen: 182] "run about too much" for /pujuujukarnt/, "don't look for his job" for /wakirrarnteparl/, and "he running about, he can't look for a job" for /pujuujekurtiipulu wakirrernt[sic]/.

78. /nenkerrarntuparl/

cut-ag(non.m)-caus "so they couldn't cut themselves."

This was given as an alternative translation of the second part of the elicited sentences

'I took the knives from them, they might cut one another.'

Notice the masculine ending (if correctly transcribed) /-u/ before /-parl/. Note also example 4 on GB:129; the above was obtained while I was trying to explain this sentence. [Breen: 122].

4.3 Directional suffix.

Movement towards or action directed towards the speaker is marked either by a clitic adverb /-kertiy/, an adverb /kuurij/(see 5.3. for both) or by a suffix which has various forms which cannot all be isolated. Movement away from the speaker is denoted by the clitic /-kany/(see 5.3). The directional suffix (glossed 'hither') is in some cases inseparably combined with the tense affix; however, it is basically /-rt, nt/. In one case - the future tense - there is no resemblance between that part of the combined suffix which marks the tense and the normal future tense suffix. The table below gives a paradigm for the verb /penk/ 'to go'; some of the forms in it are not well attested. The only common forms are the imperative /-art/, the past tense /-rnant/ and the future /-nyint/. /penk + directional/ is translated 'to come'.

Paradigm for verb

'to come'.

Imperative /penkart/

Past tense /penkernant/(also /penkernart/?) Future tense /penkenyint/(E,W),
/penkerlart/(E) Irrealis /penkarlint/(W), /penkemurlirt/(E) Purposive
/penkarirt/(W), /penkariyart/(E).[Breen: 123].

1. /ngultethanpart upukiparl, putepa/

return-hither fire-caus, baby-emph

'Come away from the fire, kid!'.

2. (E)/ilimp penkerlart murrpunga, nant penkenyint/

rel-you go-fut-hither tomorrow, elder.sister go-fut-hither /murrpunga/

tomorrow "If you come tomorrow, sister'll be here tomorrow too."

Compare this with

3. /murrpunga penkenyintimp, ingerlimp urinhathi/
tomorrow go-fut-hither-you, see-fut-you younger.sister
'If you come here tomorrow you'll see my sister.'

4. /imikangu kerrernant/
here-loc-lig-he stand-past-hither "He was standing here looking at me."

5. /penkernantarn, werarlanh marniy ngethemerlt/
go-past-hither-I, dog-op-me hit-past calf
'As soon as I came here the dog bit my leg.'

6. (E)/wiinem penkariyart/
'Make him come!' tell go-purp-hither.

7. /ngutiim, nganh urenhenga kenajaminyint/
go.home, me alone put.down-fut-hither "You go away, let me get killed on my own."

8. /ngarritherl nginaparl lekenyint yukarr/
man-alt-op maybe take-fut-hither water
'Someone else might bring the water.'

[Breen: 124].

9. /ilampi inanthinyint penkerlingapel/
rel-it get.up-fut-hither go-fut-then-we(pl,in) "When that sun get up we go away then."

It appears that there may be an allomorph /-arnt/ of the imperative directional, probably used with verbs of the third conjugation.

10. /ingarnt kuurij/
'Look over this way!' see-hither this.way.

11. (E)/kil ingarnt ngeniingkerl/
not see-hither we(pl,ex)-loc
'Stop looking at us!' [Breen: 125].

4.4 Verb conjugations.

The grouping of verbs into conjugations is based on the phonological shape of the stem; there is no division on morphological grounds (such as transitive versus intransitive).

There are four conjugations, which differ in the form of the imperfect and the gerund. In addition the third conjugation differs from the others in the form of its present tense and probably its directional imperative. The forms of these affixes are tabulated below.

Conjugation

Imperfect -iy -thiy -nthiy -jiy -nth -j Gerund -a -tha -ntha -ja Present -ti
-ti -nti -rti (-rti) (-rti) (-rnti) Dir.imper. -art -art -arnt -art.

The factors which determine which conjugation a verb belongs to have not been completely determined, but seem to be as follows:

Conjugation 1: stems ending in /err/, nasal-stop cluster, /th/ and /uk/(i.e. in [g_w_]).

Conjugation 2: stems ending in a stop other than those in conjugation. 1.[Breen: 126]

Conjugation 3: stems ending in any phoneme other than stop or /rr/.

Conjugation 4: stems ending in /rr/ other than those in Conjugation 1.

Note that there are certain limitations on the form of verb stems; no verb stems end in a vowel other than /a/; verb stems ending in /a/ have /m/ or an

apical lateral preceding; no verb stem end [sic] in apical stops; other individual restrictions are probably insignificant.

One verb which belongs to the wrong conjugation, if the facts as transcribed are correct, is /ulamper/ 'to be tired, weak' which is in Conjugation 4 /ulampirr/ may be the correct spelling.

Verbs belonging to each of the four conjugations are listed below. Note that with certain verbs ending in /rr/ in Conjugation 4 the /rr/ is dropped from the imperfect tense form and possibly from some other forms; the full details are not yet known. Thus /munukaj/ 'was stealing' instead of */munukarrej(iy)/ /iningkijiy/ 'was listening' instead of */iningkirrejiy/. This probably applies only in the Western dialect /yuwerrija-/ has been heard once, and was declared to be acceptable, as an alternative to /yuwerra-/ 'sitting' (gerund).[Breen: 127]

Conjugation 1.

/yuwerr/ 'to sit'
/jinp/ 'to sing'
/kinjerr/ 'to take'
/ngultethanp/ 'to return'
/nguperr/ 'to bathe'
/thuk/ 'to throw'
/nenkerr/ 'to cut'
/pungk/ 'to faint'
/peth/ 'to dig'
/pujuk/ 'to run'
/ngunt/ 'to give'
/penk/ 'to go'
/mernt/ 'to eat (tucker)
/mutupuk/ 'to jump'
/kunj/ 'to drink'
/ileweth/ 'to ask'.

Conjugation 2.

/ngiip/ 'to make'
/kek/ 'to cry'
/ngelp/ 'to enter'
/lek/ 'to carry'
/pej/ 'to swallow'
/irrk/ 'to climb'.

Conjugation 3.

/nheng/ 'to get'
/ma/ 'to hit'
/ing/ 'to see'
/la/ 'to hit (by throwing)'
/tiim/ 'to chop'
/ngela/ 'to put'
/jinng/ 'to know'
/urrema/ 'to look for'
/lanngem/ 'to find'
/urrentema/ 'to bark'
/ngunungunum/ 'to forget'
/lila/ 'to call out'
/therrem/ 'to play'
/ul/ 'to push' [Breen: 128]
/ker/ 'to copulate'
/purl/ 'to taste'
/kun/ 'to kiss'
/kiny/ 'to stand on'.

Conjugation 4.

/kirr/ 'to stand'
/munukarr/ 'to steal'
/nguparr/ 'to become bad'
/larr/ 'to hear'
/munkumunkarr/ 'to become good'
/iningkirr/ 'to listen'
/inanthirr/ 'to get up' [Breen: 129].

4.5 Miscellaneous problems.

1. (E)/-nga/
in /purtukuwarn utakijinga/
leg-I break-impf-?.

Note also that /purtuku + arn/ did not become /purtukarn/ but /purtukuwarn/. There is at least one other example of this type of thing in the Eastern corpus.

2. /-p/
in /pertiipi yukarr, ileki pujekurniip/
big(non.m) water, river run-past-?
"(River)'s running now longa big rain.".

3. /-ngi/
in /winthingarlin manthingi/
'Who hit you?' who-op-you(acc) hit-impf-? and one other similar example

4. (E)/-ayangepulup/ in /punterniyarn pulewi, nenkerrayangepulup/
take-past-I that-du, cut-?-?-?-?
"I took the knife off them, they might cut one another.".

5. /-ang(a)/

in /thukeltipii ngupungupi, kenajangarre, thukeltek(?)/

boomerang-that bad, down-?-along.pres?, boomerang-op

'That boomerang's no good; when you throw it it goes down.'

6. (E)/-ik/

in /ukiyarlanh ingik/

many-op-me see-?

"I'll go to the place where nobody can see me." [Breen: 130].

7. Emphatic following ligative /-ng-/

/kurrupitha yaja ngupungupuminthanga/

hat emph bad-caus-nom-lig-emph

'He ruined my hat.' ([ngu'pungu''pumi''nthangau]).

5. ADVERBS.

5.1 Adverbs of time.

Modification of a verb phrase to denote time or place is usually carried out by means of an inflected or derived noun, and there are comparatively few genuine adverbs.

Among noun phrases used to denote time are the following: /murrpunga/ 'morning, tomorrow' (/murrpu/ 'dark', /-nga/ 'after') /murrparrerl/(E) 'last night' (both locatives) /murrperrik/(W) 'last night' (both locatives) /murrperra/(E) 'night time, dark' /murrperri/(W) 'night time, dark' /murrpiyart/(W) 'this morning'; /kupayiret/(?) (E) 'tonight'; /ngunmulangunmula/(E) 'this evening'; /ngumenngik/(W) 'this morning(?), this evening, sunset' (Loc) /ngunmenngithik/(W) 'yesterday' (/ngumenngi/ 'sunset' + /ithi/ 'other' + /-k/ 'loc'). /murrpiyart ngumenngithik/ 'yesterday morning'; /ngunngithu, ngunnguwithu/(E) 'another day, yesterday' ('sleep' + 'other') /ngunngithi/(W) 'another day, yesterday' ('sleep' + 'other') /ngunngithungunngithu/(E) 'every second day'. /perijik/(W) 'a long time ago, before' /perijant/ 'a long time ago, before' /perijerl/ 'once, before, already'.

The words listed below may be genuine adverbs: [Breen: 132]

/kiliy, kirlilant [sic]/(E) 'now, today' /kiliiny/(W) 'just now'; /mintiik/(W) 'for a long time, long ago' (possibly a locative); /mekert/ 'in a minute, by and by, all the time'; /wintemel/ 'altogether, for good, for ever'.

1. /kiliinyepii penkernant/
just.now-she go-past-hither
'She's just got back.'.

2. /mintiik pulewiw mareji/
long.time that-du talk-impf
'Those two have been talking for a long time.'.

3. /mekert ingarnu/

'He's looking all the time.' always look-ag.

4. /mekert ngurninj penkariy itpuwaparl/

by.and.by I go-purp mud-caus

'I'd better go soon before (the rain comes and) it gets muddy.'.

5. /kuuriju yukarrek, wintimel/

die-impf-he water-loc, for.good

'He drowned, (he's gone) for good.'.

Two nouns (adjective) derived from adverbs of time are:

6. /kiliyarn/

'new' now-abl.

7. /perijanga/

'old' (of a thing) long.ago-after.[Breen: 133] A very frequently occurring word which seems to be best classified as an adverb of time, although it often does not need to appear in the English translation of a sentence, is /ing/ 'then, now'. It almost always occurs as a bound morpheme, usually attached to a verb, and following inflectional suffixes but preceding bound pronouns. Its use is illustrated by the following examples:

8. /nguntart inganhi nginaparl/

give-hither now-me(-it(acc)?) maybe "You might be give me it now.".

9. /irrkerlarn ba kenajanperlingarn kilyalewerru/

climb-fut-I and get.down-fut-then-I meat-prop

'I'll get up and bring the meat down.'.

10. (E)/larretiingarnin/

'I can hear you now.' hear-pres-now-I-you(acc).

11. (E)/inpiing imp/(or /inpiingimp/

?) fall-pot-now you fall-pot-lig-you

'You might fall (in the water, if you go to the river now, alone).'

12. (E)/pukarru ingarn/

old.man now-I "I'm getting too old to work now." Extra material from Appendix 9.

Of newly collected material, two, which for the time being will be called adverbs of time, are worth describing at this stage. The adverb (or adverbial phrase) /piikij/ is apparently composed of the demonstrative /pii/ 'that (non-masc)' and the emphatic /kij/. It is translated as 'still', but to judge from the few examples a more accurate translation would be 'nevertheless (.) still'. Compare the suffix /-l/ described below under 7.3.[Breen: 183].

80. /wenyemarniyarn pulu, yuwupulu piikij yuwerra/

scold-past-I that, he-that still sit-ger

'I roused on him but he's still here.'

81. /marntathap minyelirretiy, ngininya penkerniy piikij/

ankle-I-refl sore-pres, that.way-emph go-past still

'I hurt my ankle but I still kept walking.'

/nginakera/, which is perhaps used only for reciprocal actions, denotes simultaneous action. It may be that the correct spelling is /nginakerra/, in which case the /-kerra/ may be related (at least historically) to the affix described above on GB:166-8. A few other words are based on the stem /ngina-/: /nginapar/ 'maybe' (/ngina-/ + causal) (see 5.5, GB:142-3); /nginarila/, which occurs in example 82 and is translated by the informant as "There you are!" or, in isolation, as "That's it!"; /nginarrarn/ 'behind' (compare /-arn/ 'ablative', but it seems to mark location, not origin); /nginalekel/ "straightaway now", see example 83.

82. /nginarilangimp, jikuminthinganhimp ngininyelarn/
there!-lig-you, frighten-impf-lig-me-you that.way-loc(?) -I /yukarr jinementh/
water spill-impf "There you are!"

'You frightened me and made me spill my water.'.

83. /penkerlal nginalekel, imelangamp iiki/
go-fut-we(du,in) straightaway, here-loc-it cold-non.m
'Let's go now while it's still cool.'.

[Breen: 184] Examples of /nginakera/ are:

84. /nguntart intarr, ngurninjin ngunterl, nginakera/
give-hither your-non.m, I-you(acc) give-fut, simultaneously
'We'll swap.'.

85. /marniyawelep utelt, nginakera/
hit-past-they(du)-recip stomach, simultaneously
'They hit one another in the stomach.' [Breen: 134].

5.2 Adverbs of place.

Among the noun phrases used frequently to modify sentences for place are:
/ukunhingarrek, wejintingarrek/ 'on the left' (Loc) /jintewingarrek/ 'on the
right' (Loc) /ngujintingarrek/ 'on the north side' (Loc) /ngelimintingarrek/ 'on
the south side' (Loc) /mintithingarr(ek)/ 'on the other side' (/ -ithi/ 'other',
/ -k/ 'Loc'). /kulawerrek/ 'in the middle' (Loc). /terteparl/(E) 'behind' (Loc)
/terteparrek/(W) 'behind' (Loc). /ngulintingarr, ngulintingawerr/ 'behind'.
/minngitherl/(E) 'far' /minngithik/(W) 'far' ('ground' + 'other' + 'Loc').
/kenterl/(E) 'inside' /kentenga/(W) 'inside'.

There are a number of adverbs of place and possible adverbs of place,
including. /kenarra/(E) 'near' /piint/ 'far, past' /jemanturu/ 'up there'
/yupantu/(E) 'up there' /ngulukaka/ 'in front, before' /mart/ 'together' /kany/
'over there' (more frequently used as a directional adverb, see 5.3). [Breen:
135].

13. /imi kany kirriwuluul/

this(non.m) over.there woman-pl-com

"She's down there with a mob of gins."

14. (E)/ngurninj penkariy unpart, yuwerrariy, yuka kenarra/

I go-purp house-alla, sit-purp, water near

"I got to go to the station now, to stop where the bore is, near the water."

15. /yuwerretiyapel mart/

'We're all together now.' sit-pres-we(pl,in) together.

16. /penkerniy piint, pa ingerniyanh ngulteth/

go-past past, and look-past-me back

'He went past, and looked back at me.'

17. /penkerniyarn ngulukurre/

'I went first.' go-past-I before.

18. /werararn mart kinjerrerl/

dog-I together take-fut

'I'm going to take the dog with me.' [Breen: 136].

5.3 Directional adverbs.

The directional suffix has already been discussed (4.3). An adverb /kuurij/ and a clitic /-kertiy/ also seem to have the same function, denoting motion towards, or action directed the speaker. /-kertiy/ may be suffixed to a noun, demonstrative or verb and possibly to other words as well.

19. /pulkuwerl (pulkurl?) kilyalekertiy lekethiy, ngampeng/

man-op meat-to.here take-impf, we(pl,in)-purp

'He's bringing meat for all of us.'

20. /penkarrekertiy ilekarn/
go-along.pres-to.here river-abl.
OR /ngarrukertiy penkarr ilekarn/
man-to.here go-along.pres river-abl
'He's coming back from the river.'.

21. /yuwu pulukertiy penkarr/.
'He's coming now.' he that-to.here go-along.pres.

22. /ilekikarn ngunerniy, ilarn kuurij/
creek-loc-I sleep-past, rel-I to.here
'I camped at the creek while I was coming here.'.

23. /kuurij utelt/ 'facing this way.' to.here stomach. /-kertiy/ and /kuurij/
are both used in the following sentence:

24. /kuurijekertiipulu merntarr irrkejal/
to.here-to.here-that eat-along.pres crawl-along.pres
'He (kangaroo) is coming this way and having a feed as he comes along.'.

/kany/

'along, away' is frequently used as a clitic but perhaps only in the Western dialect. It can also be used as an adverb of place (see example 13 above). It is frequently used with andative ('along') verbs and seems then to contrast with /-kertiy/ (compare examples 24 and 26).

25. /ngultethanparrekanyemu ilawerrirriy/
return-along.pres-away-this Alexandria-alla
'He's gone back to Alexandria.'.

26. /theperrrekanyepulu merntarr; theperr merntarrekanyepulu/
grass-away-that eat-along.pres grass eat-along.pres-away-that
'He (kangaroo) is eating as he goes along.'.

27. /welimekanyepulu ngulteth leketiy/

right-away-that back take-pres

'He's taking it home now.'

/ngininy/ can be used as a directional adverb translated 'that way' or as an adverb of manner 'like that, thus' (see 5.4).

28. (E)/penketiy pulu ngininy, ngarriithert/

go-pres that that.way, man-alt-alla

'She's going over to the other man.'

29. /ngunngithikalii penkarl ngininy ngerlimil/

day-alt-loc-we(du,ex) go-opt that.way south

'Tomorrow we'll go south.'

/ngulteth/ 'back' refers to action directed back towards where the agent has come from. See examples 16 and 27 above.

30. (E)/penketiyarn wintemelu Melbournirt, ngurninj/

go-pres-I for.good Melbourne-alla, I /penkariy ngulteth/

go-purp back "I'm going home to Melbourne now."

Verbs derived from /ngulteth/ include /ngultethanp/ 'to return, to go home', /ngultetham/ 'to take back' and /ngulting/ 'to look back'.

/wirringinji/ is translated as 'across' or 'crossways'.

31. /lanngemerniyanii yukanga penkangirt wirringinji/

find-past-we(pl,ex) water-after go-nom-lig-alla across

'We found him after he'd had a drink, going across (i.e. at an angle to the direction he should have been going).' [Breen: 139].

5.4 Adverbs of manner.

/thuula/ is translated 'just', 'only' and illustrated in the following examples. Note that the ligative /-ng/ is used when a vowel-initial bound pronoun follows in the Western dialect but not in the Eastern.

32. /thuulangarn yuwerretiy/

just-lig-I sit-pres "Nothing, just sitting down" (in reply to
'What are you doing?').

33. (E)/kepakepa nalu ngamenthariy, nharranharramenthariy,/

quick humpy make-purp, make.quickly-purp /thuulal yuwerrariy/ just-we(du,in)
sit-purp

'We'll make the humpy quickly, get it finished, and then we'll just sit
down.'

34. (E)/thuularn urremarniy/

just-I look.about-past

'I was just looking (for you).'

Used as an interjection, /thuula/ can be translated as 'nothing'.

35. (E)/nhingarl (OR /nhingarliimp/) imp puluul ingentiy./

what (OR what-purp-you) you that-pl see-pres /thuula/

nothing "What do you want to watch them for?" "Oh, nothing." [Breen: 140]
/miikerl/, 'in vain', is used to express the fact that an action or attempted
action has not succeeded.

36. /inanthemerniyarn, miikerl/

wake(tr)-past-I, in.vain "I woke him up but he wouldn't get up."

37. /merlala, pertiipipii, miikerlarn kenkelijamerniy/

no-emph, big(non.m)-that(non.m) in.vain-I lift-past "I've been trying to lift
it but it's too heavy."

/wirriwirriy/ is approximately equivalent to the verb andative present inflection (see 4.2.9, GB:113). It means 'while you/he/it etc. (i.e. the agent) is/are/was etc. going/walking along.'

38. /wirriwirriyarn penkangerl marniy yunkumet/
along-I go-nom-lig-op/loc kill-past blue.tongue.lizard
'While I was walking along I killed some blue-tongue lizards.'

/ngininy/, already mentioned above (GB:137) is exemplified below in its use as an adverb of manner. The form /ngininyangerl/ means 'just like that, just the same'.

39. /pethetiy yupuku pulu, ngininy ngethap/
scratch-pres he-refl that, like.that I-refl
'He's scratching himself,' "just like me" (I had just before elicited the sentence 'I'm scratching myself.'). [Breen: 141].

40. (E)/yuwirretiyarn intekert utal, imp ngininyangerlekij/
sit-pres-I you-alla stomach, you just.the.same-emph
"You sitting towards me and I'm sitting towards you too." (Note that in Wakaya one does not 'face' but one 'stomachs'.).

41. /penketiyan imerriy, ngininyangerl, ukiyamentiy/
go-pres-I here-alla, just.like.this, many-caus-pres
'I come here often.'

42. /ngininyangelampi/
"He's all the time like that." just.like.that-? (/ampii/
it-that?) [Breen: 142].

5.5 The Potential adverb.

/nginapal/ 'maybe' or sometimes 'must be' is very commonly used to qualify either a verb or a nominal. Used with the future tense form of the verb, or in

the Eastern dialect the purposive, it is approximately equivalent to the potential mood form of the verb.

43. /nginapalarn ngumenngikant miikemerlinting/

maybe-I sunset-loc-? make-fut-you-purp

"I might finish it for you at sundown."

44. /imungu pejerniyarn, nginaparl panjirlarn/

fly swallow-past-I, maybe vomit-fut-I

"I swallowed a fly and I might spew in a minute."

45. /nginaparl nguntartanh/

maybe give-hither-me

"You might be give me it now."

46. /irrketiyathekert purtukik nginaparl kingkenyu/

crawl-pres-I-alla leg-loc maybe centipede

'There's something crawling on my leg; it might be a centipede.'

47. (E)/nginaparl pukarrup, nginaparl pilikup/

maybe old.man-gen, maybe mother's.brother-gen "he might be dog belong to my old uncle".[Breen: 143].

48. (E)/mangarlanga penkernant, marrerniy narntert;/

white.man go-past-hither, talk-past elder.sister-alla /nginaparl wakirrijariy, nginaparl inelingenthariy/ maybe work-purp, maybe look.after-purp /kerewa mangarlangap/ child white.man-gen

'The white man came and talked to my sister. He might want to give her a job. He might want her to look after his kids.'

49. (E)/nginaparl munuri/

maybe fish-purp "It might become handy for fish too."

It appears that /nginaparl/ appears immediately before the item it modifies; in most cases it is the first word in a clause. [Breen: 144].

5.6 Negative adverbs.

Negatives may be formed in Wakaya by the use of the negative particle /merlt/ or /merlal/(6.2), by the use of the negative imperative form of the verb (Western dialect only; see 4.2.2, GB:105), by the negative adverb /jap/(Western dialect only) and most commonly by means of the negative adverb /kal/(Western) or /kil/(DJ) or /kili/(MK).

The negative adverbs /jap/, used with imperative verbs and translated 'don't!', and /kal, kil(i)/, translated 'not' or, in the Eastern dialect, sometimes 'don't!', always occur in first position in a clause (except probably when there is an interrogative pronoun in the clause). /kal, kil(i)/ normally negates a verb but may negate a noun.

50. /jap lila/

don't call.out "Don't sing out to him."

51. /japal titarr puleriy/

don't-we(du,in) wait that-purp "We don't want to wait for him."

52. /ngunarlepulu muunt, japulu inanthem/

lie-opt-that poor.fellow, don't-that wake(tr.)

'Don't wake him up, let the poor fellow sleep.'

53. (E)/inperniyarn kili impanh kurrkumerniy/

fall-past-I not you-me hold-past

'I fell because you didn't hold me.'

54. /kalarn larl pulu/

not-I hit(throwing)-fut that

'I'm not going to hit him.'

55. /kalanii ingenthiy imila merlt ngininyangerlampii/

not-we(pl,ex) see-impf this-loc no just.like.that-that

'We've never seen anything like this before.'

56. (E)/purnngu pulurl munukarrerniy, kil yukunngu, ukiya/
stone that-op steal-past, not one, many "He never steal a few quid, he steal
lot of money off me."

57. (E)/penketiy pulu wintimelu, kil ingenthariy/
go-pres that altogether, not see-purp
'He's going away for good; we won't see him again.'

Perhaps /miikerl/ (see GB:140) should be classified as a negative adverb.

5.7 The interrogative adverb.

The adverb /wii/ can be used to mark a 'choice' question (i.e. a question whose answer is one of two or more alternatives, often 'yes' or 'no'). An alternative method of expressing such a question is by means of intonation, the sentence otherwise being the same as a declarative one. /wii/ normally occurs as first word of the clause, although in some cases, at least in the Western dialect, it can take other positions. It can sometimes be translated as 'I wonder' or 'I don't know'.

58. (E)/wiyimp ingentiy/
question-you see-pres
'Can you see it?'

59. (E)/wii imu payu munku/
question this road good
'I wonder if the road's all right.'

60. /mukurarr miikemerniy wii/
spear make-past question
'Did you make that spear?'

61. /ilinjiing kuurniy wii/
tucker-now cook-past question
'Have you finished cooking that damper yet?'.

62. /werangi ingerniimp wii/
wife see-past-you question
'Have you seen my wife?' .pa [Breen: 147].

6. PARTICLES.

6.1 Conjunctions.

/ba/ 'and' may link clauses or phrases. Examples of both uses have been given above (1.4, GB:13-15). In the following example it is used to intensify an adjective; this is the only such example in the corpus.

1. (E)/pertiipu pa pertiipu kilyal/
big and big animal
'It was a very big (fish)?'.

/puun/ 'too' is uncommon; one example has been given above (GB:15). A second is.

2. (E)/ngurninj puun penkariy/
I too go-purp
"I'll go with you too, mate.".

There is only one example in the corpus of /tha/ 'but' (?); this is given above (GB:15).

The conjunction (?) /yantekij/ 'again' occurs only in the Western corpus and has been illustrated above (GB:15-16). The semblative conjunction, 'like', is /il/(Western), /kil/(Eastern). It precedes the object of the comparison [Breen: 148] which may be (probably) any nominal.

3. /miingkik imp yuwerritiy, il ngarru/
ground-loc you sit-pres, like man
'You're sitting on the ground like a blackfellow.'.

4. /wera inta, il ngetha/

"Your dog's just like mine." dog your, like my.

5. (E)/yuwu pulu kirretiy kil imp/

he that stand-pres like you

'That fellow looks like you.'

6. (E)/pertiipu unpa, kil imu wilirrku/

big house like this bush

"That's the biggest town, just like all this leaf, you can't count it."

The relative/subordinate conjunction /il/ has been discussed above (1.5, GB:24-27). [Breen: 149].

6.2 Clause substitutes.

The following particles can occur alone as a clause or sentence: /iya/ 'yes' /wapi/ 'no' /merlt/ or /merlal/ 'no' /wanki/ or /wankirr/ or /wankirra/ 'I don't know' /thuula/ 'nothing' (see example 35, GB:139). In some cases these particles may be incorporated as part of a sentence and simply act as modifiers; this is the normal function of /thuula/ and an example with /merlt/ is given above (GB:145, example 55). See also GB:140, example 37 for /merlal/.

7. /merlala, nguparritiyarn, kuwarl ilinji yukuutemanharl/

no-emph, bad-inch-pres-I, cook-op tucker other-pl-op

'No, I'm tired, let the others cook the tucker.'

8. /wapi yurral/

'No, it doesn't matter.' no doesn't.matter (or possibly /yuwerrarl/, sit-opt, i.e. 'let it stay').

9. /a wapi wetharl/

"Oh, let him eat it, I don't want it." oh no eat-op.

10. /merlta, kalarn larlepulu/
no-emph, not-I hit-fut-that
'No, I'm not going to hit him.'

11. /winthingart imp marrerniy. wanki./
who-alla you talk-past. dunno
'Who were you talking to?'
'I don't know.'

12. /wintharn pulu penkernant. wankirra, kilarn pulu ingerniy/
where-abl that go-past-hither. dunno, not-I that see-past
'Where does he come from?'
'I don't know. I've never seen him before.'

13. /mantiy pulweiyarl, wankirr nhingarliparl/
hit-pres that-du-op, dunno what-caus
'Those two are fighting, I don't know what for?' Extra material from Appendix 9.

Note that /merlt/ can modify a noun in the purposive case, as in 86.
/ngarreriy merlt/ 'There's no men here.' man-purp no.

6.3 Emphatic particles.

The particles /kij/, /welim/ 'right, already' and /irraj/, sometimes 'right', are emphatic markers. This is, of course, a difficult concept to define and describe, and this interpretation is tentative.

14. (E)/kenempa kij pulu, ngupu/
green emph that, bad
'It's green (i.e. not ripe), it's no good.'

15. (E)/kiliy kijarn kuuntiy/

now emph-I cook-pres

'(I haven't finished cooking it), I'm just starting.'

16. /ukutherl marniy kenanthi, pilekerl/

father-op kill-past emu(non.m), mother's.brother-op /marniy
ngininyangerleki/ kill-past just.the.same-emph

'My father and my uncle killed some emus.'

17. (E)/therrementhariyarn, welim pulu kujerrariy/

play-purp-I, right that laugh-purp

"I'll play with him and I'll make him laugh."

18. (E)/welimarn larretiy/

'I can hear you now.' right-I hear-pres.

19. (E)/welimarn larretiin/

'I AM listening to you.' right-I hear-pres-you(acc).[Breen: 151].

20. /winthingarl wiipu munukarnirraj/

who-op egg steal-past-emph

'Who took my egg?' (It appears that the bound form of /irraj/ may be -
/rraj/.).

21. /irraj pulerl thawirretiy/

'He's telling the truth.' right that-op tell-pres.

Note that /i-rraj/ also means 'straight'.pa [Breen: 152].

7. OTHER BOUND MORPHEMES.

7.1 Ligatives.

The ligative /-ng/ is used:

a) to link a following vowel-initial affix, normally a bound pronoun, to a preceding verbal suffix ending in /a/ or /ii/ (i.e. the gerund and the potential), to inflected forms of the demonstrative /imu, imi/ ending in /a/, and to the adverbial /thuula/ 'just', 'only' (in the last case, only in Western Wakaya).

b) to link the nominal affixes operative/locative (masculine form) and allative, and the affix /-i/ to the gerund.

The following examples show its use:

1. /yuwerra + arn/

-> /yuwerrangarn/

'I sat' sit-ger I.

2. /inpa + ing + arn/

-> /inpangingarn/

'I fell then' fall-ger now, then I.

3. (E)/tirripii + in/

-> /tirripiingin/

'might bite you' bite-pot you(acc).

4. /imita + u/

-> /imitangu/

'he (.) (to) here' here-alla he.

5. /thuula + arn/

-> /thuulangarn/

'I just (.)' just, only I. [Breen: 153].

6. /penka + -rl/

-> /penkangerl/

'while (subject of go-ger op/loc main clause) going'.

7. /ngunentha + -rt/

-> /ngunenthangirt/

'while (not lie-ger alla subject of main clause) was sleeping'.

8. /pujuka + -i/

-> /pujukangi/

'from, because of, run-ger ? running'.

Sentences in which the ligative /-ng/ is used will be found on GB:22 and GB:23, GB:106 (example 16), GB:111 (example 35), GB:123 (example 4) and GB:139 (example 32). Note also example 7.

The ligative /-r-/ is used to link a following /a-/ initial affix (inflectional suffix or bound pronoun but not stem formative) to a preceding noun with stem-final /a/. Thus.

9. /wera + arn/

-> /werararn/

'from the dog' dog abl.

Contrast.

10. /werarr + arn/

-> /werarrarn/

'from the bitch' bitch abl. and

11. /wera + awiy/

-> /werawiy/

'two dogs' dog dual Extra material from Appendix 9.

Additional uses of the ligative /-r-/ are to separate (optionally) the ablative suffix /-arn/ from a stem with final /-i/, as an optional link between a stem and bound third person pronouns (the /r/ in /-ruwiny/ and /-ru/, see 2.3.2, GB:53-5] and, possibly obligatorily, to separate an /a/-initial suffix from a /uu/ or /ii final stem.

87. /inanthemerniyanhimp muunkirarn marngwirarn/

wake(tr)past-me-you good-non.m-lig-abl dream-lig-abl

'You woke me up from a good dream.'

88. /kuura/

boy-lig-voc (or -emph)

'Boy!'. [Breen: 154].

7.2 Emphatics.

/-ya/, /-ii/ and /-a/ (often on a rising intonation and distorted to [au]) seem to be used for emphasis.

12. /merlta/

[merlta'u]

'no'.

13. /ngutiim jimerra/

'You go home, mate.' go.home mate-emph.

14. /ngungkurlin mayi impa yuwerr/

snake-op-you(acc) hit-pot you-emph sit

'(You can't go there because)' "the snakes will bite you; you might as well sit down with me."

15. /kirrii, kirra/

[kirra'u] stand-emph, stand-emph

'Stand up!'.

16. /laya pulu/

'Hit him!' hit(throwing)-emph that.

7.3 Other bound morphemes.

The meaning of the affix /-ant/ is not known. Mrs Karkadoo used it fairly often as an augmentation of personal pronouns, e.g. /impant/ 'you' /inant/ 'you (acc)' /ngalant/ 'we (du,inc)' /ipulant/ 'you (du)' /ngampulant/ 'we (pl, inc)' /irrant/ 'you (pl)' /inepulant/, which she translated "you and her now" and is accusative. It also occurred on the word /mart/ 'together'. [Breen: 155] It is also found on certain time words, as in the following Western examples:

17. /penka murrperrikant/

'He went away last night.' go-nom night-loc-?.

18. /kiliyant penkerniy/

'He's just gone.' now- ? go-past.

The suffix /-karni/ occurs in three Western examples and its meaning is unknown.

19. /wirriwirri penkangerl wetharrekarni/

along go-nom-lig-op/loc eat-along.pres-? "Have a feed as you go along."

20. /lengentharnu inyekarni/

get-impf-I-(he?) ?-? (See GB:16, example 68, from which this is an extract).

21. /lengenthियarnekarني/

get-impf-I-? "I went over there and picked him up." Extra material from Appendix 9.

/-kertiy/ should be included in this section rather than among the directional adverbs (5.3) as it seems never to occur as a free morpheme.

/-karni/ seems to denote arrival, as in 89. /jilanjikarni/

"He got there." go(down ?)-impf-arriv.

/-itha/ is said to have the same function; /jilanjiitha/ is given as an alternative to /jilanjikarni/. /-karni/ is more common.

/-ngi/ is said to refer to actions distant from the speaker, and a couple of examples support the interpretation, but a number of others do not.

90. /nhingarliimp irrkejingi/

what-purp-you climb-imprf-dist(?)

'Why did you climb (on a tower about 50 yards from the speaker)?' The sentence was repeated with /irrkej/.

/-kal/ means 'first'; there seems to be no doubt about this in most cases, but in a few cases, when it is used in association with the verb /ing/ 'to see', its function is not known.

91. /impekal penk/

you-first go

'You go first.'

92. /blanketa ngetha lekerl ngurninjikal, welimanh imp,/

blanket, my carry-fut I-first, right-me you, /punterlanhimp piinjirt/ take-fut-me-you part.way-alla

'I'll carry my swag first, and you can take it half way along.'

93. /inanthij muukel, ilalepuluul yuwerrikal,/

get.up-impf all, rel-they(pl)-that-pl sit-impf-first, /inanthijengel muukel/ get.up-impf-then-they(pl) all

'They all got up together; first they were sitting down, then they all got up together.'

94. /pulernmu imarna penkiy, ngerlimil,/
soldier hear-abl go-impf, south, /jirrawernyangkurtepirtekal/
'The soldiers went south and speared people there first.'

The counter-examples are:

95. /muunkawel kerewul, nguninjikal ingenthiy/
good-pl child-pl, I-? see-impf

'The kids will be good as long as I watch them.' and another translation of the same English sentence, and

96. /nhengeltiy penpamerniy intap merrperrik, penkart/
what-purp hide(tr)-past you-refl dark-loc, go-hither /ngurninjin ingerlekal/
I-you(acc) see-fut-?.[Breen: 187] /-l/ means 'still, yet'. There is one example in the Eastern corpus as well as several from the Western dialect.

97. (E)/pukarru, wankul yuwirretiy/
old.man, alive-ye sit-pres
'He's very old but he's still alive.'

98. /ngenngerntarn ngelarniy, imiita, penkerniyarn;/
tucker-I put-past, here-alla, go-past-I; /ngultethenpernantarn ingerniyan
breadin, muukelath/ return-past-hither-I see-past-I bread-?, all-my /ilinji
mernta ngularr; impanha nguntart, wiyimp tucker eat-ger behind; you-me-emph
give-hither, question-you /nguntartanh ilinjirri, ilarn munjurte lemu/ give-
hither-me tucker-?, rel-I hungry-yet-this(?)

'I put my tucker down here and went away. When I came back I saw (only?)
bread. Someone had eaten all my tucker behind my back. You give me some more.
Will you give me another lot of tucker because I'm still hungry.'

99. /ngethemerltarriyarn nguparretiy, but penkarrelekanye/
calf-?-I bad-inch-pres, but go-along.pres-yet-that.way /ngininyangelekij/
just.the.same-emph

'My leg is sore but I'm still going along just the same.'

100. /manthiyarnepulu kiliy, yuwupulu kekertil/
hit-impf-I-that now, he-that cry-pres-yet
'I hit him a while ago and he's still crying.'.

/-thu/ combines with /kiliy/ 'now, today' to give /kiliyathu/ 'starting'.

101. (E)/kiliyathu inperiy/
'It's starting to rain.' starting fall-pres.

102. /mulupirretiy kiliyathu/
thin-inch-pres starting
'He (a horse) is starting to get poor (i.e. in condition).'. .

103. /kiliyathikanyepii wirrinmarntiy/
starting-that.way-that(non.m) burn-pres
'It's starting to burn.'.

8. WORD ORDER IN EASTERN WAKAYA

The following is based mainly on texts and unelicited sentences given by Didgeroo Jack - a total of 113 sentences. Although the Western corpus is much bigger than the Eastern it has been difficult to obtain such material; there are only about thirty sentences. The sentences in Didgeroo Jack's material are typically short and simple, perhaps more so than would have been the case for a typical Wakaya speaker.

The most noticeable features of the word order are:

(a) Negative and potential adverbs, interrogative and the relative/subordinate conjunction always appear initially in a clause. There are no cases in the data of any two of these cooccurring in a clause, although it should be possible for negative and interrogative to do so.

(b) The verb tends to go into second position unless it is negative or there is a bound pronoun attached, in which case it takes first position (unless one of the items mentioned in (a) is present). [Breen: 157] Of 143 clauses containing a verb, it took second place in 68, while an infinitive verb occurred in first place in eight and a verb + bound pronoun in 31. It was also fairly common for a verb to occur first in the second clause of a sentence.

(c) Bound pronouns and clitic demonstratives almost always were attached to the first word of a clause, often a verb, occasionally an emphatic, allative or purposive phrase or adverb, or, in a transitive sentence, the subject or object noun.

(d) Peripheral sentence constituents - adverbs (other than negative or potential), locative, allative, instrumental and causal phrases (usually one word) usually occurred after the nuclear constituents of the clause. Purposive phrases (i.e. usually nouns with the purposive inflection) were an exception to this rule, often occurring first. In some cases, of course, this was necessary because they were interrogatives. Peripheral constituents very rarely occurred inside the nuclear clause; exceptions are bound purposive pronouns and the adverb /ing/ 'now', 'then', which also is normally bound. [Breen: 158] Word order seems fairly free in verbless sentences, to judge from the few examples in the material used. For example, in three sentences a descriptive term occurred first with the noun being described following, while in four cases the reverse order was followed.

The small group of Western sentences includes no intransitive clauses with the subject in first position. An initial subject pronoun, quite common in the

Eastern dialect, would be rare in the Western because its pronouns are usually bound. In a transitive clause the subject normally precedes the object unless the latter is a noun and the former a free pronoun. Nouns normally precede free pronouns, which in turn precede free demonstratives. It is common for a transitive clause to lack either an explicit subject or an explicit object. Word order in elicited sentences would be useful additional data if it can be shown that it is not influenced by English word order.

ABBREVIATIONS.

fut.	future
imper.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
neg.imper.	negative imperative
past	past
pot.	potential
pres.	present
tr.	transitive
emph.	emphatic
du.	dual
ex.	exclusive
fem.	feminine
in.	inclusive
pl.	plural

along hither./inhtha/ nom nominaliser (gerund formative). /arn/ abl ablative /nga/ after after, out of /rt/ all allative /rriy/ all allative /ithu/ alt alternative, another, masc. /ithi/ alt alternative, another, non-masc. /arnu/ ag agent (doer, excessive implication) masc. /arnt/ ag agent (doer, excessive implication) non-masc. /runy/ acc accusative /ruwiny/ acc accusative /wanku/ assoc associative, masc. /wanki/ assoc associative, masc. /wiy/ du dual /awiy/ du dual /parl/ caus causative /p/ gen genitive /(i)ntinga/ loc locational (directions, location words) /rl/ op operative (= Ergative) and locative /ij/ op operative (= Ergative) and locative /wul/ plu plural (Western) /awel/ plu plural (Western) /wulu/ plu plural (Eastern) /manha/ plu plural (Western); second form priv privative prop proprietive /riy/ purp purposive /iy/ purp purposive. miscellaneous nominal formatives. /pi(r)ri/ ?demonstrative /pa/(E) ?adj from Noun /pinalapa/ 'noisy' >pinal 'ear'.

/-r/ (E) ?adj from adj /munkurarn/

'be happy' >munku

'good'.

/iji/

only on /mengkerr/

'wife'mengkerriji

'his wife.' /ithi/

only on /mengkerr/

'wife'mengkerriji

'his wife.'.

/kirr/

?possessive location: cf. locative /-kerl/

on pronouns.

/-kart/

?sentence connective - different subject.

/-thu/

?start: (E) /kiliyathu inpetiy./

'It's starting to rain.'.

/-ngku/

masc. (E) ?other: /yukuuthungku wurrawarrawul./

'All them other dogs, they're mad.'.

/-ngki/

non-masc. (E) (E) ?other: /yukuuthungku wurrawarrawul./

'All them other dogs, they're mad.'.